CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE

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I. The Sites of Ekron, Gath, and Libnah

Since the time of Robinson[1] it has been almost universally assumed that the ancient Philistine city of Ekron, or better Akkaron,[2] was situated on the same site as that now occupied by the village of 'Āqir. In those days the requirements of an ancient site of importance were little understood, and scholars were quite satisfied with a more or less vague similarity in name, and an elastic agreement with the topographical data available. This will no longer do. In the case of a site with a long and important history, like Ekron, there must be a tell, and potsherds must agree with the literary material before the student can be satisfied with his results. So far, almost the only scholar to apply the argument from potsherds to the determination of the antiquity and identity of tells in various parts of Palestine has been Macalister. A brilliant proof of the exactness of his knowledge and the care of his investigation was furnished by his archaeological survey of the sites on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee,[3] as a result of which he referred Tell Hūm to the Roman period exclusively, Ḫān Minyeh to the Arab only, and Tell 'Oreimeh to the Late Canaanite (Cypriote pottery main characteristic, Macalister's Second Semitic) all of which has been fully confirmed by the German excavations since then. The British School of Archaeology expects in the near future to make an extensive series of trial cuttings in the ancient mounds of Palestine, to determine their antiquity and provide the historian with a skeleton archaeological history of each important site.

A visit paid to the village of 'Āqir on the 23d of March, 1921, showed clearly that this site possesses none of the needful factors. The village is

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[1] See *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 226-9.

[2] Cf. the Greek form 'Ακκαρών and the Assyrian *Amqaruna*, pronounced *Anqarōn*, since the Assyrians did not distinguish between *m* and *n* before *g* or *q*, and probably pronounced long *u* as *ō*, like the late Babylonians, while final short vowels had long since been given up, and hence are quite without meaning in late transcriptions.

[3] See PEFQ, 1907, pp. 110-118.

situated, like Zernūqa, in a level plain, and there is not a sign of a tell. Even unimportant, unwalled villages situated on the plain accumulate masses of débris in the course of a millennium or two. Ekron has a recorded history of at least 1500 years, from the Philistine irruption in the first half of the twelfth century B. C. to the time of Eusebius and Jerome,

Fig. 1. Mugār (Cedron?).

and during most of this time it was an important walled city. Moreover, it bears a Semitic name, meaning "the fertile place,"[4] so was certainly in existence before the twelfth century. Robinson reported the discovery of a piece of a pillar, but we found nothing whatever, not even Graeco-Roman

[4] The exact nuance of meaning is naturally no longer discoverable. Aram. ʿiqqārā means "root," whence Ar. ʿaqqār, "medicinal herbs, drugs." The same word also meant "tendon," just as in the case of Eth. serw (so)=Assyr. širʾānu and Aram. širyānā, "tendon, artery," whence Ar. šaryān, "artery," while the Eth. preserves the meaning "root," in which it is etymologically related to the partially reduplicated Heb. šóreš, along with the secondary "ligament." Heb. ʿaqár, "uproot," and ʿiqqér, "hough"=Ar. ʿáqara are both privatives. "Destroy, slaughter," are further intensive developments from these privatives, as are also "be barren, sterile, of woman or land." Ar. preserves an old development, also traceable in Hebrew; the verb taʿaqqara means "put forth shoots, grow, of a plant," which illustrates our place-name.

potsherds. In short, Ekron cannot possibly be represented by the modern 'Āqir. Some time after coming to this conclusion, and discovering the true site, I noted that Macalister (*Philistines,* pp. 74-7) had also come to the same conclusion regarding the impossibility of placing Ekron at 'Āqir, and had fixed it at Ḥirbet Ḍikerīn. This site, several miles south-southeast
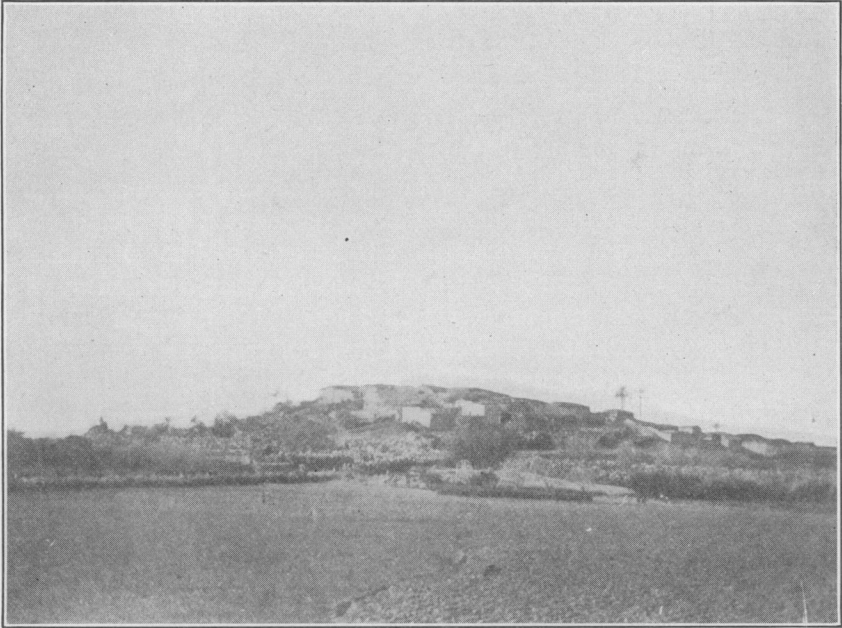
Fig. 2. Yebnah (Jamnia).

of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi on the old Roman road from Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrīn) to Diospolis (Ludd), was formerly identified by many scholars with Gath, on the authority of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, but is undoubtedly identical with the Rabbinic Kefar Dikrīn,[5] and thus can have nothing to do with any city of the Philistine Pentapolis, quite aside from the absence of a true mound. Philologically, the combination of 'Aqqarōn with Ḍikerīn is absurd; two of the four consonants and all the vowels are different.

Three miles southwest of the collection of adobe huts which now bears the name 'Āqir is the large hill of Qaṭra. The modern Arabic village lies on the southeastern slope of the hill, at some distance from the Jewish colony of Gederah, which owes its name to a fanciful combination of

[5] See Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud,* p. 71.

Guerin's (cf. Jos. 15:36). On the southern end of the hill proper, which is lower than the northern, is a weli with an adjoining Muslim burial ground, in which the natural rock crops out in a number of places. The northern end, however, forms a true tell, along whose outer slope are vast masses of débris, fairly teeming with Graeco-Roman potsherds. Fragments

Fig. 3.
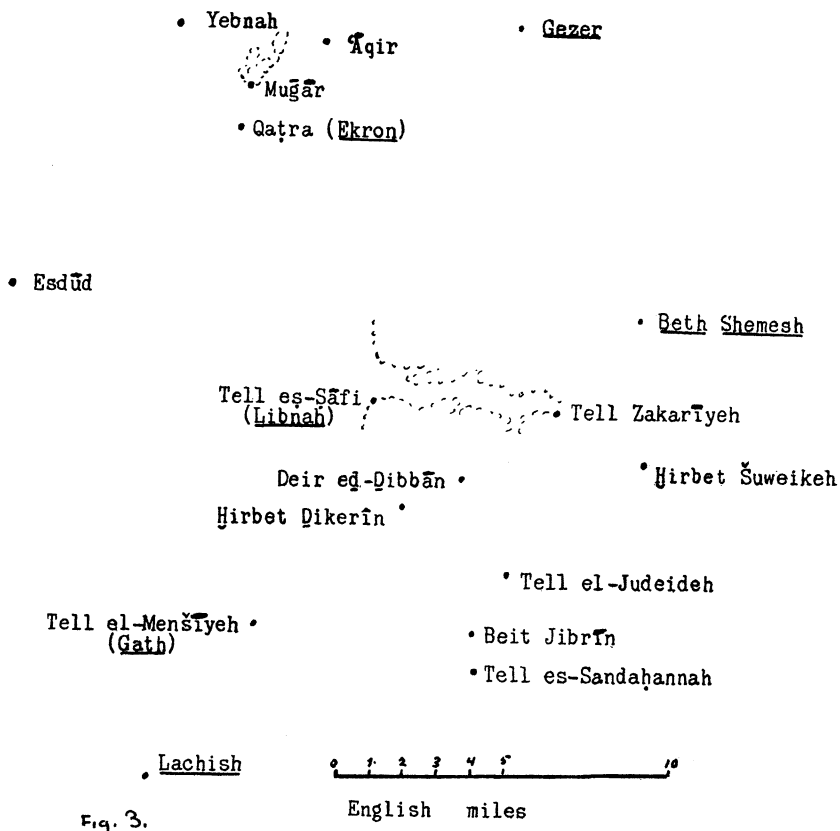
of wall, and an uncommonly deep cistern, *built*, and cemented, but long since abandoned, testify also to the depth of the mound. In the village itself we found many fragments of marble pillars, and a large marble pillar basis, as well as a fragment of a Latin inscription, with only three letters remaining, which had been built into a wall. The location of Qaṭra is magnificent, and the surrounding country is very fertile. Moreover, since it is three miles nearer Ashdod than the modern 'Āqir, and in a strongly

fortified position by nature, the probabilities are obviously for it. It is incredible that the Philistines should have selected a spot on the open plain, quite unprotected, and more than twelve miles from the nearest neighbor, Ashdod, for one of their capitals. Nor is there any other available location. Muḡār, which has a splendid position, has no tell, and the only débris of occupation is at the foot of the hill. That there was an ancient village there is proved by the numerous rock-cut wine-presses on the summit.

Fortunately, we are not left to weigh probabilities, since there is clear literary evidence for our view. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 22, line 9 f., states: ἢ ('Ακκαρών) καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη μεγίστη 'Ιουδαίων 'Ακκαρὼν καλουμένη ἀναμέσον 'Αζώτου καὶ 'Ιαμνίας ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς = Jerome, Latin translation: *et usque hodie grandis vicus civium Judaeorum Accaron dicitur, inter Azotum et Jamniam, ad orientem respiciens.* In other words, Ekron was plainly visible to the traveler from Ashdod to Jamnia (modern Yebnah), on his right. This is not true at all of 'Āqir, which lies four miles nearly due east of Yebnah (the site of which is certain, as it lies on a prominent tell), and is hidden from the road to Ashdod by an unbroken chain of hills running northward for several miles from Muḡār. On the other hand, it fits exactly with the situation of Qaṭra, as may be seen from the appended sketch-map.

The possibilities of our problem are not yet quite exhausted, however. It is generally taken for granted that Qaṭra is identical with the Cedron (Κεδρων) of I Mac. 15:39, 41; 16:9. This theory has nothing to do with the impossible combination of Qaṭra with Gederah or Gederoth, a Judaean city mentioned Jos. 15:36, after Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah, all in the Shephelah. The Syrian general Cendebaeus made Cedron the centre of his operations against Judaea, stationing there horses and troops which made forays and harassed the roads leading into Judaea. The sequence of the narrative shows clearly that Cedron was east of Jamnia. Later we hear that the Jews, under John, rose early in their camp at Modin, attacked the army of Cendebaeus, and defeated it, pursuing the fugitives as far as Cedron, and then on to Azotus. There can be no doubt that the geographical position of Qaṭra suits the description, but the position of Muḡār is even better, since it is nearer Jamnia, and better provided with cisterns. Our episode then fits in well with the geographical situation; from Modin (Midieh) to Muḡār is fifteen miles in a straight line, and from Muḡār to Esdūd is ten miles more. Muḡār is three miles southeast of Jamnia, and for fugitives retreating from the direction of Modin to Muḡār, Esdūd is the only natural goal after failure to find refuge in the latter place.

The name *Qaṭra,* meaning "drop," is not a genuine Arab place-name,

and is therefore to be considered as a popular etymology of an older name. Greek *Kedrōn* is a perfectly possible transcription of a Hebrew* *Qiṭrōn*, with the same name as the *Qiṭrōn* or *Qiṭrōnah* (see below) of Zebulon. The Hebrew ending *ōn*, which interchanges with *ō*,[6] occasionally disappears or is altered to *ā* (*ah*) in modern Arabic.[7] So we need have no hesitation

Fig. 4.   Esdūd (Ashdod).

[6] For the ending *ō* in place-names cf. *'Akkō, Megiddō, Yappō* (Joppa), *Ūsō* (Palaetyrus, written *Iw-ṭw* in Egyptian and *Ušū* in Assyrian, but both were pronounced as we have written), *Yerīhō*. This *ō* is identical with the old Semitic feminine ending *āyu*, which appears in Arabic as *ā'u* (cf. Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Vol. I, p. 410). Sometimes old *ō* is changed by analogy to *ōn*, as in *Megiddōn* for *Megiddō*, but more often the reverse is the case. Thus we have in the Tuthmosis III list Rtn for Ludd (there is no *d* in New Egyptian) and *'pqn* for later *Afeq* (Apheq), which also appeared in Hebrew as *Afqō*, as we know from the modern *Afqā* at the source of the Adonis River (ancient Aphaca). Similarly, Eg. *'rn* is now Tell *'Āra* (cf. Alt, *Pal. Jahrbuch*, 1914, p. 83, n. 2), and Beth-horon has become Beit-*'ūr*.

[7] The change of Hebrew *ō* to *ā* in Arabic (through Aramaic) is not a phonetic change, properly speaking, but is an analogical back-formation, of a common type. Since Heb. *ō* corresponded to Aram. *ā* in a great many words, the Aramaeans unconsciously substituted *ā* for *ō* in loan-words and place-names which they appropriated.

in combining the name '*Āqir* with old '*Aqqarōn;* there has again been a popular etymology, on the basis of Arabic '*āqir,* ''unfruitful,'' in this case a *lucus a non lucendo.* Evidently there has been a double shift of place-names; first, the name Ekron was transferred to the Arab village three miles to the northeast, presumably because the inhabitants of the old

Fig. 5. Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (Libnah).

place deserted it after a destruction, and carried the name with them. Later the same process was repeated by the people of Cedron. In view of the fact that the mound at Qaṭra is so large and important, we dare not assume that it was really the site of Cedron, which is unknown to history, except from the Cendebaeus episode. Such shifts of name from one site to another a short distance away are extremely common; we may mention the fact that Umm Lākis is three miles from Tell el-Ḥesi, and that Tell es-Sulṭān and Jericho are nearly two miles apart.

At present virtually all students of Palestinian topography identify the famous old Philistine city of Gath with Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, a prominent mound commanding the entrance to the Wādi eṣ-Ṣāfi (so perhaps best; local nomenclature varies) from the plain. This theory seems first to have been

advanced by Porter, about 1857,[8] and so comes down to us with the authority of inherited tradition. The other older identifications, with Ḥirbet Ḍikerīn (where Macalister places Ekron) and Beit Jibrīn, ancient Betogabra (Talmudic Bēt-gubrīn) or Eleutheropolis, need hardly be mentioned now, as they have both been rendered impossible by archaeological examination of the sites in question. The latter idea was based mainly on a fancied connection of the name *Bēt-gabrā, "House of the cock,"[9] but also perhaps, according to the Talmudic form, "House of heroes," with the Anakim, a race of mythical giants, like the Greek Titans, whose blood was supposed to flow in every giant of later tradition. The combination with Ḥirbet Ḍikerīn is based upon a passage in the *Onomasticon*, which runs as follows: Καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν κώμη (Γεθ) παριόντων ἀπὸ Ἐλευθεροπόλεως ἐπὶ Διόσπολιν περὶ πεμπτον σημεῖον τῆς Ἐλευθεροπόλεως = (Jerome) *Ostenditur vicus in quinto miliario ab Eleutheropoli euntibus Diospolim.* Since Ḥirbet Ḍikerīn is four and a half English miles in a straight line from Beit Jibrīn, and situated on the old Roman road leading north in the direction of Ludd (Lydda = Diospolis), the description fits tolerably well, but it should be noted that there are several other possible sites near this same road, at the same distance from Eleutheropolis, for this Gath. None of them, however, have a tell, so, in view of the commonness of the name, which means simply "wine-press," in the ancient topography of Palestine, we may reject the identification proposed by Eusebius without further ado. Jerome has preserved another combination of great inherent probability, as will be shown below.

The arguments in favor of the identification of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi with Gath have been best summarized by Bliss (*Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900,* pp. 62-66), where it is guardedly accepted, and Hölscher (ZDPV 34 (1911), pp. 49-53). It is usually assumed that the *Onomasticon* is correct in placing Gath on the road from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis, but that the distance given is incorrect, since Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi is eight miles from the former town in a straight line, and hence at least nine Roman miles by road. The danger of such an assumption is obvious. From the whole tenor of the references to Gath in the Old Testament, and the fact that it alone of all the Philistine cities was intermittently in the possession of the kings of

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[8] See Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible,* first ed., s.v. *Gath.*

[9] This may explain the cock painted in the tomb of Apollophanes. Naturally, "House of the cock" may well be a popular etymology on the part of the post-exilic Jews, whose mother-tongue was Aramaean. In modern times there has been another popular etymology, combining *jibrīn* (for Talmudic *gubrīn*) with the angel Gabriel, so the form *Beit Jibrīl* has been known since the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Today the most revered weli in the village is Nébi Jibrīn, from whom the simple villagers trace their origin—an eponymous ancestor arising in a popular etymology!

Judah, it is evident that it lay close to Judaean territory, and presumably at some distance from the other towns of the Pentapolis. According to II Chron. 11: 8 Gath was one of the towns which Rehoboam fortified. But the principal support to the theory is found in the description of the Goliath episode, I Sam. 17. The Philistines camped in the Valley of Elah, between Socoh and Azekah. Socoh is probably Ḥirbet 'Abbūd, a few minutes northwest of Ḥirbet Šuweikeh,[10] and Azekah is almost certainly Tell Zakarīyeh,[11] so the commonly received identification of the Valley of Elah with Wādi es-Sanṭ, "Valley of Mimosas," is surely correct. After the defeat at the hands of the Israelites, the Philistines retreated down the valley, which would inevitably carry them down the Wādi eḍ-Dahr to the Wādi eṣ-Ṣāfi, and out into the Wādi el-Buršein. I Sam. 17: 52 says: And they pursued the Philistines in the direction of (lit. as thou comest to) Gath (so, with LXX) and the gates of Ekron. And they slew (lit. caused the corpses to fall) the Philistines in the road of Shaaraim, as far as Gath and as far as Ekron (Heb. ועד גת ועד עקרין). Shaaraim, "The two

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[10] There can be little doubt that the name *ŝōkoh* survives in modern Ḥirbet *Šuweikeh*, especially since two other Socohs correspond to Šuweikeh. The peculiar form of the Arabic is easily explained; Heb. *ŝōkoh* was popularly etymologized in Arabic as *ŝaukah*, *ŝōkeh*, "thorn, prickle," and, in accordance with a widely prevalent tendency in modern Arabic, the diminutive *ŝuweikeh* was substituted later, just as in the case of *duweir* for *deir*, "monastery." Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, p. 156, says that in his day there were two villages by this name, adjoining one another, in the ninth Roman mile as one goes from Eleutheropolis to Aelia (Jerusalem). Since Ḥirbet Šuweikeh is seven English miles in a straight line northeast of Beit Jibrīn, the statement of Eusebius seems to agree perfectly with the identification. Bliss, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 66 f., suggests that Socoh lay at Tell Zakarīyeh, three miles to the northwest, but this would bring us into conflict with Eusebius, whose authority is the more valuable here, that the Talmud refers to a Judaean Socoh as still in existence even later. However, Bliss's examination of the débris at Ḥirbet Šuweikeh (PEFQ 1900, 97) showed that there were only a few feet of deposit there, characterized by Roman and Arabic pottery. Hence we may suppose that a Roman and Byzantine Socoh was located here, and that the older Socoh, whose history runs at least as far back as the time of Solomon (I Kings 4:10) and Rehoboam, who fortified it (II Chron. 11:7), lay close by, a circumstance which would explain the two Socohs of Eusebius. Accordingly we may suggest, as the site of the older and more important town, the ruin of Ḥirbet 'Abbūd, a few minutes to the northwest of Ḥirbet Šuweikeh and considerably more extensive.

[11] Since Azekah was a strongly fortified town, with Lachish the last Judaean city to hold out against Nebuchadrezzar's army, we must find a prominent tell. Since it was, moreover, near Socoh, on the same valley, we can only identify it with Tell Zakarīyeh, in agreement with the consensus of opinion. Eusebius says that Azekah was still the name of a village between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem; Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 213, states that it was nine miles from Eleutheropolis, which is quite correct, as it is six English miles in a straight line, and we must allow at least a fourth for windings in the road, which here was probably a mere local path.

gates," is a town, mentioned Jos. 15:36 just after Socoh and Azekah. It
has been plausibly suggested that it corresponds in meaning to modern
Arabic Bāb el-Wād, and so lay at the opening of Wādi eṣ-Ṣāfi. Most
scholars interpret our passage artificially, so as to imply that Gath was
passed in the way from the Valley of Elah to Ekron, which would
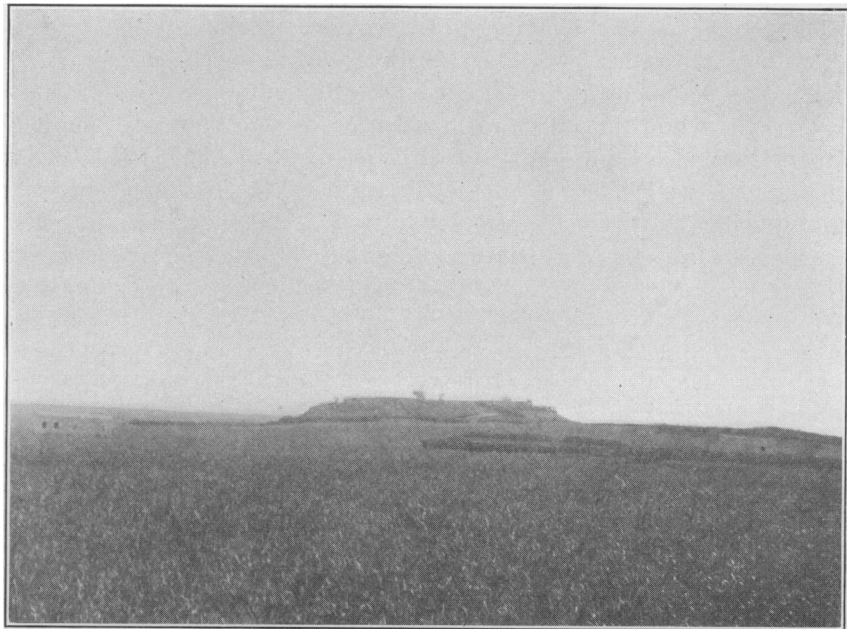
Fig. 6. 'Arāg el-Menšīyeh (Gath).

undoubtedly be a strong argument in favor of its location at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi.
The preceding literal rendering of our passage, however, shows that we
can only assume from it safely that Gath and Ekron were the nearest
Philistine towns to the opening of the Wādi eṣ-Ṣāfi. I Sam. 7:14 shows
that Gath did not lie near Ekron, and indicates strongly that Gath and
Ekron were, respectively, the southern and northern foci of Philistine
power along the western boundary of the country: "And the towns which
the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron
as far as Gath." That the latter town lay in the southern part of Philistia
is certain from the fact that during the reign of Saul part of the Negeb,
or southern desert of Judaea, was under the control of Achish, king of Gath.
We must, therefore, look for Gath further south.

The most remarkable landmark in southeastern Philistia is the striking mound of Tell el-Mensīyeh, to the north of the modern village of 'Arāq el-Mensīyeh. The top of the hill rises more than two hundred feet above the surrounding plain, and is visible for many miles around. It is at present crowned with garden patches, except in the centre, where there is a small weli, the shrine of Sheikh Aḥmed el-'Areinī, a notable holy man. While the hill is mostly natural, there can be no question that it is surmounted by an ancient mound, whose débris produces relative fertility, giving the tell the characteristic green appearance. There is reason to believe that the sides of the hill were artificially scarped. No ruins are visible, but there are numerous potsherds strewn over the top, mostly modern. Conder, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. III, p. 259, suggested that this is the site of Libnah, pointing out that the adjoining hills of the Shephelah are composed of very white chalk. Tell el-Mensīyeh, however, does not present at all this white appearance, perhaps because there is no true scarp, as at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi (see below). Accordingly, there is nothing in the name of Libnah, "The white (city)," to indicate a location here. On the other hand, this is an ideal site for Gath, the name of which requires a site with original rock surface, available for the construction of wine-presses. The identification of Gath with Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi demanded the assumption that this important Philistine town was built on a hill belonging to the Shephelah, which always remained in Israelite hands. Tell el-Mensīyeh, on the other hand, is some distance from the Shephelah hills, in Philistine territory proper. It is fifteen miles south of Qaṭra, and thus in admirable agreement with I Sam. 7 : 14, which places Gath and Ekron at some distance from one another, one in the south, the other in the north. Because of its position, it was well adapted to exercise a commanding influence in the western Negeb of Judah, where Ziklag lay, being nearer to the group of tells south of Lachish than any other Philistine city was. Moreover, Tell el-Mensīyeh and Qaṭra are, respectively, seven and a half and nine miles in a straight line from the mouth of Wādi-eṣ-Ṣāfi, while Esdūd is eleven, so we can understand why the Philistines are said to have fled to these cities after the fall of their champion, Goliath. In II Chron. 11 : 8 Gath is mentioned with Mareshah, modern Tell Sandaḥannah, six miles east of Tell el-Mensīyeh. II Chron. 26 : 6 states that Uzziah fought against Ashdod, and dismantled its fortifications, as well as those of the two subject towns, Gath and Jabneh (Yebnah). Ekron may have been already a dependency or protectorate of Judah, just as in the time of Hezekiah, as we learn from the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib. It is hard to believe that Qaṭra could be in Jewish power, while Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi was not. In the reign of Sargon (B. C. 711) we find that Gath was still part of the territory of

Ashdod, along with Asdudimmu, or *Ašdōd yam*,[12] the port of the city, modern Mīnet el-Qal'ah.[13]

Fortunately, we are not wholly dependent upon the argument from archaeological or historical evidence, which is often elusive, and sometimes misleading. Jerome, in his commentary to Micah, 1:10, says, on the authority of a pilgrim, that Gath was still a place of some importance on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza. The road from Beit Jibrīn to Gaza still leads to-day past Tell el-Mensīyeh, as may be seen by a glance at Baedeker. The more direct, southerly road is much more difficult, because of the network of deep wadis to be crossed, and so is still avoided. The statement of Jerome, combined with other considerations, has induced no less an authority than Guthe (*Bibelwörterbuch*, s. v. Gath) to consider the Tell el-Mensīyeh site. The writer, it may be observed, did not see Guthe's remarks until after he had reached the same conclusion independently, and with the aid of a more extensive array of facts than is presented by the latter. The archaeological exploration of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi did not yield a shred of evidence for the identification with Gath, while it did produce important supports for its association with Libnah, so we will consider its results below, in connection with our discussion of the site of that town.

Libnah was one of the most important towns of Judah. According to tradition (not, however, confirmed by the Amarna Tablets) it had been one of the Canaanite royal cities, and after the conquest it became a Levitic town, and city of refuge. In the reign of Jehoram it revolted from Judah, while the king was busy in a vain effort to suppress the Edomite rebellion. It must soon, however, have been retaken, since we find it one of the strongest cities of Hezekiah, and it remained in the possession of Judah down to the end of the kingdom (cf. Jer. 52:1).

Jos. 15:42 locates Libnah in the Shephelah, and II Kings 8:22 shows that it must have lain on the very borders, since its loyalty was uncertain. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, p. 120) states, with reference to the probable site of Libnah (Λεβνα): Καὶ νῦν ἐστι κώμη ἐν τῇ Ἐλευθεροπολιτάνῃ λεγομένῃ Λοβανά = (Jerome) *Nunc est villa in regione Eleutheropolitana*

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[12] For the formation cf. the parallel *Ṣīdōn yam*, "Sea-Sidon," in the Phoenician inscriptions. This explanation is not new and is very doubtful.

[13] It may be well to emphasize the fact that these Assyrian topographical data are nearly always singularly accurate. Cf. the precision of Sennacherib's statement (Taylor Cyl., II, 65) regarding the names of four towns in Sharon which he wrested from the control of Ṣidqa, king of Ashkelon: Bēt-Daganna, Yappū, Banā-barqa, and Azūru correspond to the four modern towns of Bēt Dejan, Yāfā, Ibn-Ibrāq, and Yazūr, all within a radius of three miles. If we remember that there were no final short vowels in Assyrian (late) and no *yōd*, we shall appreciate the exactness of the transliterations, which correspond to the pronunciations: *Bēt Dagán, Yappō, Benē Baráq* (Bene Beraq in Joshua) and *Yazūr*.

quae appellatur Lobna. This statement of Eusebius is extremely valuable, since he is obviously giving us a theory of his own, combining a then-existing village of Lobna (the form Lobana is wrong), i. e., Lubnah, with the Biblical Libnah. Philologically, the identification made by Eusebius is very happy, since short *i* has a very strong tendency to become *u* before a labial in Semitic (which explains the reverse tendency in modern Syrian Arabic). The location in the district of Eleutheropolis is in absolute accord with the statement in Joshua. What a pity that Eusebius does not give a more precise location! However, Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi seems to be the only reasonable identification, since it is the only important tell on the border between Philistia and Judaea which can really be said to be situated in the district of Eleutheropolis. It is much nearer Beit Jibrīn than it is to any other important Roman city, such as Hebron, Ascalon, Jamnia, Diospolis (Ludd), Nicopolis (Emmaus), or Jerusalem. Even to-day, the mukhtars of Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi and Beit Jibrīn are cousins, and the two villages are connected by many ties.

The very name *Libnah*, "The white (city)," has led various scholars to propose the identification, though it has never been vigorously maintained. The name *Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi* means "The bright, shining tell," given because of the vivid white limestone scarps of the hill, which had once inspired the Crusaders to call it Blanche Garde. At Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, Bliss found important traces of the Crusaders' fortress.

Important evidence for our theory may be derived from the record of Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah. After the capture of Lachish, represented in some detail on the Assyrian monuments, Rab-shakeh, on his return from a mission to Jerusalem, found Sennacherib engaged in the siege of Libnah (II Kings 19:8 = Isa. 37:8). From Lachish there were two natural routes to Jerusalem open to the Assyrian king. He might move up to 'Arāq el-Menšīyeh, and turn eastward to Beit Jibrīn, or he might keep straight on northward to Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, and turn into the Valley of Elah, which would carry him by a gradual ascent, suitable for chariots, to within a few miles west of El-Ḥiḍr, on the edge of the central ridge, over which the remaining eight miles' march was comparatively easy. The first route requires the crossing of a long series of hills and valleys, and is not nearly so easy. Moreover, it would expose him to constant danger from ambush, in the day when the hills were often covered with a dense growth of scrub timber. Three generations ago ambushes were very common on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, but now the remaining timber has all been cut off. Nor would it have been prudent for a master of the art of war, like the Assyrian king, to have marched directly up to Jerusalem, leaving an unsubdued tract of country about Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi between the border and his army, a bit of carelessness which would have endangered his communications with

the rear. Our identification of Libnah with Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi removes all the difficulties, and makes the Assyrian plan of campaign very clear.

The plan of Joshua's campaign against the cities of western Judah, after the disastrous Canaanite retreat from Beth-horon, is not nearly so clear, a fact which does not make one any more confident of the historical value of the slippery narrative. However, though it is probably an artificial construction of the historiographer, attached to a genuine tradition of the fight at Beth-horon, the latter doubtless knew the country well enough to avoid the worst mistakes in topography. After the Canaanites had been defeated at Gibeon (Jos. 10:10) they fled northwestward to Beth-horon, and then, according to the report before us, turned abruptly to the southwest, and fled over twenty miles to Azekah (Tell Zakarīyeh) and Makkedah (perhaps Deir eḍ-Ḍibbān,[14] four miles straight southwest of Tell Zakarīyeh,

[14] This village is situated in a very strong position, on the summit of a large hill, provided with almost unlimited supplies of cistern water. It has often been thought that there was an ancient city under the modern, though the accumulation of débris is not great enough for a city of any considerable importance. This agrees with the fact that, though considered by tradition as one of the Canaanite royal cities, it is mentioned only in Joshua, and does not occur in the Amarna Tablets (Makidda is certainly Megiddo) or the Egyptian lists (Max Müller thought, *Asien und Europa*, p. 162, note, that the My-q-tʒ of the Tuthmosis list, No. 30, was Makkedah, but since it occurs between 'Aštart Qarnáyim and La'iš, he gave this view up in MVAG, 1907, p. 14). Deir eḍ-Ḍibbān is almost the only available site between Azekah and Libnah for Makkedah; moreover, Eusebius places the latter eight miles from Eleutheropolis, which agrees tolerably well with the actual distance of five English miles, since we must allow here, as usually in the hill country, from a fourth to a third for inevitable detours, making a real distance of seven English miles. Another strong argument may be derived from the tradition that the Canaanite kings hid themselves in a cave at Makkedah. The tradition, or rather legend, in this case, presupposes the existence of an extraordinary cavern here, around which legends crystallized. At Deir eḍ-Ḍibbān are located some of the most remarkable caverns in Palestine, if not quite the most extraordinary. This perhaps explains the name, since the caves are in the same hill as the town. *Maqqedah* means literally "The hollowed-out place," from *naqád*=Ar. *náqada*, "pick, peck, hollow out." In this connection we may observe that the neighboring mound of Tell ej-Judeideh, three miles to the southeast, is perhaps the site of the Biblical Keilah, which can hardly be located at the insignificant ruin of Ḥirbet Qīlā. The names of many of these Palestinian *ḫirab* belonged originally to sites many miles distant; cf. Ḥirbet 'Asqalān and Ḥirbet Beit Jibrīn, etc. Keilah is mentioned Jos. 15: 42-4 between Libnah, or Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, and Mareshah, or Tell Sandahannah, three miles southwest of Tell ej-Judeideh; the other places given in our passage cannot be identified. I Sam. 23 shows that Keilah lay in a frontier district, exposed to Philistine assaults, and also that it was a fortified town in a fairly strong position. The Amarna Letters (cf. Knudtzon-Weber, p. 1330 f.) indicate that Qilti lay midway between Gezer, Gath (Tell el-Mensīyeh), and Bethlehem (Bēt-*NINURTA;* so Schroeder). A site with so long a history must have left an important tell; for the results of the excavations at Tell ej-Judeideh cf. Bliss-Macalister, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-51.

and the same distance southeast of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi). Joshua followed them to Makkedah, defeated them again, captured the city, and then marched in succession to Libnah and Lachish, which were easily captured. It is clear that we cannot derive much information from this narrative.[15]

The excavations carried on by Bliss and Macalister at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi (see *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 28-43) lasted only four months of the year 1899, so it is hardly surprising that the results were meagre. Moreover, only a very insignificant part of the total Israelite city, which covered a space approximately 1200 feet by 600 (extreme measurements), was available for excavation, owing to the fact that the modern village and cemetery, weli, etc., covered most of the ground. Three strata of pottery were found: early Canaanite (down to about 1700 B. C., not "as far back as the 17th century B. C."), late Canaanite, and Jewish. The late Canaanite (late pre-Israelite) also includes the Philistine period of sub-Mycenaean pottery, cir. 1150 B. C. on, and the Jewish includes Hellenistic. Bliss thinks that the site was abandoned between the Seleucidan period and the time of the Crusaders, but it is more probable that the Roman and Byzantine village of Lobna occupied the edge of the hill, like the modern Arab village. The quantities of painted Philistine pottery have often been advanced as an argument for the identity of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi with Gath (e. g. by Thiersch[16]), but this position is untenable now that we know how the influence of Philistine culture extended through the towns of the Shephelah. Similar Philistine ware has been found in quantities in strata superimposed on Canaanite-Cypriote layers in Lachish, Azekah, Gezer, and Beth-Shemesh, none of which were Philistine towns. The excavations now being carried on at Ashkelon provide an opportunity for the comparison of wares of the same period from a genuine Philistine settlement, and the Philistine finds in the Shephelah begin to make much less of an impression, compared with the richness of the ceramic deposits in the former. Furthermore, in a Philistine city, occupied by the Jews only for brief intervals, it would be very strange to find so many jar-handles with royal Jewish pottery stamps as were discovered in the Jewish strata at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi.

Most interesting of all the discoveries made at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi was a limestone tablet (not stele, as described in the publication), five pieces of which were

[15] It may be added that Libnah is mentioned on the Shishak list (see the additional cartouches recovered by Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 113 f.) between *Rph*, Raphia, and *'ngrn*, Ekron, as *R-bw-n;* the feminine *t*, still written in the Tuthmosis list, is omitted now, because it was no longer pronounced by the Jews. On the other hand, the *Rbn* of the Tuthmosis list, No. 10, after Dothan, is certainly not Libnah.

[16] See *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908, pp. 378-384.

found and placed in the Turkish museum in Jerusalem. In the restoration of the museum undertaken since the war, three of these fragments have come to light again. The representation does not appear ever to have been explained; since it is of importance for us, and since the drawing given on p. 41 of the publication is very bad, failing to furnish a correct idea, a

Fig. 7. Fragments of Assyrian Tablet.

new one is herewith presented. In the lower register we see a ship being launched, as shown clearly by the outline of the hull, the wooden rollers under it, the water around, and the head of the man swimming in front. The register above shows in fragment b (now lost; see Bliss and Macalister) the rump of an ox, with part of the hind legs and tail, and a ribbon (?) tied to the latter. In c we have the hind quarters of a sheep, with a man grasping its fat tail. In d, finally, there is part of an altar. While the representation is very rough, evidently designed as a mere sketch, there can be no doubt that the upper register portrays the sacrifice of an ox and a sheep, to hallow the launching of a ship under royal Assyrian auspices. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt as to the purpose of the tablet. It is an artist's sketch, intended to preserve the motive for a later bas-relief in alabaster. The soft chalk limestone of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi is admirably adapted for such a purpose, for which the Egyptian artists of

Tell el-Amarna also preferred soft limestone. As to the date, there can be little doubt that our tablet comes from the reign of Sennacherib.[17] The latter, in his Taylor Cylinder, IV, 26, states that he employed Hittite, i. e. Phoenician vessels for an expedition on the Persian Gulf, probably for the first and last time in Assyrian history. Monumental representations of these Phoenician ships have been found at Kuyunjik; cf. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Vol. II, plate 71.

If, then, the tablet comes from the reign of Sennacherib, we can hardly avoid seeing in it a memorial of the brief occupation of Libnah by Sennacherib shortly after 690,[18] in his second campaign against Hezekiah. It is a slight, but none the less welcome confirmation of our view.

II. Some Sites and Names in Western Galilee

Of all important districts in the Holy Land, southwestern Galilee has been the least studied from a topographical point of view. And yet there is no section so rich in promising mounds, the contents of which will certainly in many cases take us back into the remote eras of proto-history. The western part of the Plain of Esdraelon, and the Plain of Accho are dotted with interesting tells, and there can be no doubt that they conceal stores of treasures for the archaeologist and the historian. So far, only two have been attacked by the excavator's spade, and though Taanach and Megiddo have only been scratched, rather than dug, and their ceramic archives, so important for the history of a site, have been almost wholly

[17] Thiersch had not seen the original, but only the excessively bad drawing in Bliss-Macalister, when he described our tablet as a "Persian stele" (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1908, 373). The head makes a certain Iranian appearance in Macalister's copy, but the original is purely Assyrian, and at least two hundred years earlier than Thiersch would place it.

[18] The long puzzling question of whether there were one or two campaigns of Sennacherib against Hezekiah has now been definitely solved in favor of the second contention. In an important article in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*, pp. 319-328, Rogers has come over to this side, owing to the discovery of important new material. However, I am convinced that the account of the second campaign begins Ch. 18:17, instead of 19:9, as Rogers thinks, and that, therefore, the siege of Libnah belongs to the second war, and not to the expedition of 701. The recent treatment by Reisner in the *Harvard Journal of Theology*, 1920, pp. 31-42, is rather inadequate, based on a hypercritical attitude toward the Old Testament evidence and an antiquated view of the Assyrian material. It is rather dazing, at this late date, to hear of the distinction between a "Cush" in Arabia and Cush-Ethiopia and between a "Muṣri" in Arabia, and the Semitic name for Egypt. Meluḫḫa is certainly Ethiopia. Reisner is obviously not aware of the convincing evidence which has come to light for a campaign of Sennacherib in the West after 689, or of Schäfer's recent discovery of the Egyptian royal name $Sb(y)$, corresponding to the Biblical Sewe (So) and the Assyrian Sibe. His brilliant discoveries in Ethiopia, important as they are, furnish no aid to the solution of the problem at issue.

neglected, the finds made in them give an earnest of the revelations we may expect in the future. It is by no means always the large mound which yields most productively; often a small tell met with a rapid and unrepaired destruction which preserved its furniture and inscriptions for a curious posterity. The finest Canaanite bronzes so far discovered come, not from
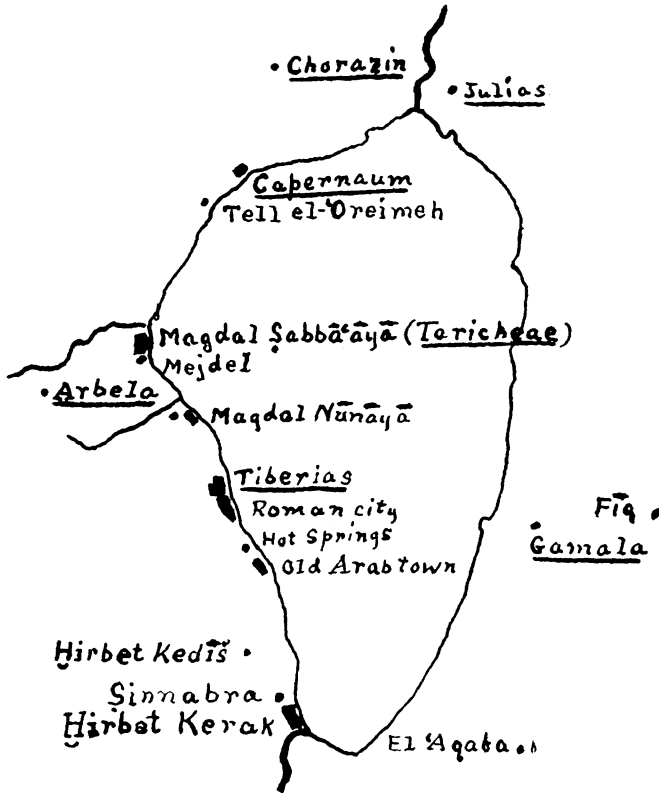
Fig. 8.

Lachish or Gezer, but from the tiny mound of Tell el-'Oreimeh, overhanging the Sea of Galilee. British excavators in Babylonia since the war had a very similar experience in digging a small hillock near Ur.

The town of Beth Anath, "House of the goddess 'Anat," is mentioned in Jos. 19: 38 and Jud. 1: 33 as being in the territory assigned to Naphtali, but as remaining in Canaanite hands after the conquest, along with Beth Shemesh. The latter was situated between Mt. Tabor and the Jordan, if

we may judge from Jos. 19:22: "And the territory (of Issachar) extended to Tabor, and Shahazimah, and Beth Shemesh, and the end of their territory (lit. outgoings of their border) was at the Jordan." Beth Shemesh has often been identified with the modern Ḥirbet Šemsīn, a little southeast of the Jewish colony at Yemma, but there does not appear to be any old mound at this site, which is, moreover, hardly in a place where we should expect a Canaanite city to defend itself long against Israelite onslaughts. On the other hand, if we locate the ancient city at modern Tell eš-Šemdīn, an obviously intentional alteration of a *Tell eš-Šemsīn, five miles to the southeast, in the Ghōr, we shall have an admirable situation, except for the presence of malaria, as at Beth-shan. Two miles to the north is the mouth of the Yarmūk, and a mile south the perennial stream of Wādi el-Bīreh flows through the plain of the Ghōr. The agricultural possibilities are excellent, as the writer observed on a trip from the Jewish colony at Daganya to Beisān, April 24, 1921. A town located here, less than four hours from Beth-shan, with a level road the whole way, would have comparatively little difficulty in maintaining its independence for a season.

The juxtaposition of the names Beth Anath and Beth Shemesh in the two passages is due, first, to the fact that the names are similar, and secondly, to their parallel history, but it does not justify us in assuming that they were located close together geographically. Fortunately, we have evidence for the site which has hitherto been disregarded by most scholars. The Talmud of Jerusalem ('Orlah) names as one of the Galilaean towns on the Jewish border Bēaná (so, ביאנה instead of באינה of the text), which the Tōsefta (Kiláyim, 2) gives as Bēt-'aṅah (בית ענה). This is obviously identical with our Bēt-'Anat, as Neubauer saw,[1] and further with modern Be'neh.[2] In Palestinian Aramaic, as well as Aramaic generally (cf. Bāgarmā for Bēt Garmā, and Yāqūt, Lex. Geog., s. v. بـ) the element bēt was often contracted to bē; numerous examples are found in Josephus and the patristic writers, as well as in the Talmuds, both Palestinian and Babylonian. Talmudic Bēšán, for Bētšan, appears in Arabic as Beisān. The ancient town of Beth Anath was probably situated at the mound of Jelamet el-Be'neh, less than a mile southeast of Be'neh, and surrounded by fertile fields; the word jélameh,[3] "hill, mound," is sometimes employed instead of tell; cf. Jelamet el-Manṣūrah, below the Muḥraqah, which is also the site of a ruined village of some antiquity.

[1] Géographie du Talmud, p. 235 f.

[2] This identification, which I had completely overlooked, supersedes the rash suggestion in JPOS, 1921, p. 55, n. 3, that Beth Anath might be Tell Belāṭ. That site, with its remarkable temple, still remains to be identified. The Egyptian evidence, which places Bēt 'Anat near the Phoenician coast, to the south of Tyre and Ūsō, is still valid, however.

[3] Modern jélameh is a modification of older jalhamah. and is not found in the lexicons.

There is already, however, a rival claimant for the honor of representing this old Canaanite town in the modern village of 'Ainīta, in northern Galilee. Unfortunately, there are no ancient remains there, and the name is obviously identical with *'Ainēta,* a common place-name in Syria, which is simply *imāleh* for *'Ainātā,* an Aramaic word meaning "Springs," and thus not possibly connected with Beth Anath. Moreover, we are in a position to show that Beth Anath must have been much further south. It appears not to have been noticed so far that the phrase Shamgar ben Anath, Jud. 3 : 31; 5 : 6, does not mean "Shamgar son of the goddess Anath," or the like, but simply "Shamgar of the city Beth Anath," in accordance with an almost universal Aramaean,[4] Assyrian,[5] and Hebrew idiom.[6] In the Bible we find it, e. g., in the expressions *Bēt Ya'qob* and *Benē Ya'qob,* *Bēt 'Eden* (Assyr. *Bīt Adini*) and *Benē 'Eden* (cf. Assyr. *mār Adini*), as well as in *Hadad-'ezer ben Rehōb* for Hadadezer of Beth Rehob, like the Assyrian *Ba'sa mār Ruḥubi* (of Ammon) for Baasha of Beth Rehob. The basic idea is that a tribe or settlement was founded by the ancestor of the later inhabitants, who therefore gives his name to it, a conception not always correct, even in the Old Testament. With singular tenacity it has survived to the present day, as illustrated by the belief of the people of Beit Jibrīn that Nébi Jibrīn (or Jibrīl) was their ancestor.[7]

[4] The late Aramaic dialects use *bēt* and *berē* like the corresponding Hebrew words. The Zakir stele shows that the singular *br* was similarly employed in Old Aramaic; the king of Bēt-Gōš, whom the Assyrians call *mār Gūsi,* is termed *br Gš.* The Assyrian inscriptions also employ the name *Bīt-Gūsi,* but the gentilic is *Kūsā'a,* i. e. *Gūsā'a.* In general the Assyrian usage is somewhat different from the Hebrew-Aramaic. While the latter employs *bēt* regularly, like the Assyrian, it uses the gentilic in the singular, and *benē, berē* in the plural. The Assyrians, on the other hand, use *mār* in the singular, like the earlier Hebrews and Arameans, but nearly always employ the gentilic in the plural.

[5] Ungnad was the first to explain this usage clearly, and to prove it with a wealth of examples in OLZ, 1906, pp. 224-7. Many more illustrations might be given.

[6] See also JPOS, 1921, p. 55.

[7] In this connection may be mentioned a curious Palestinian superstition, that springs belonging to places the names of which contain the element *beit* are *'uyūn el-ḥaṣr,* i. e. "springs of retention (of urine)"; see Canaan, JPOS, 1921, p. 158. This may be due to the fact that most such places in Palestine were sacred to the worship of the deity whose "house" they were; cf. the many towns by the name of *Bēt-Dagōn,* *Bēt-lāḥm, Bēt-šemeš, Bēt-yärḥ* (at least two, one in Phoenicia, the other on the Sea of Galilee), to say nothing of *Bēt-'Anat.* Hence there may have been a special tabu placed upon the use of the water of the holy fountain for ordinary purposes. In connection with the foregoing list of names, it may be well to raise the question whether the name *Bēt-še'an* or *Bēt-šan* does not belong here. The Egyptian writing is always *Bytšr* or *Bytšnr,* i. e., *Bytšl.* At times I have considered the possibility that this Egyptian writing may refer to the Besara, for *Betsara, of Josephus, which lay at Ḥirbet el-Beiḍa, in the northwestern corner of Esdraelon, but the new difficulties raised by this theory are

We learn from the two references in Judges (see my article referred to above) that Shamgar was a Canaanite (Hittite) tyrant, who oppressed Israel and yet won a title to its gratitude by repulsing the Philistines. Elsewhere it has been shown that this defeat of the Philistines by Shamgar refers to the first Philistine invasion, about the eighth year of Rameses III, c. 1190 B. C. When we read in the Song of Deborah:

In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath   in ... days the caravans ceased,
    And wayfaring men   followed crooked paths.

we gain the picture of a tyrant of western Galilee, supporting the retainers to whom he owed his power by plundering expeditions and robbery of caravans and merchants. It is just such a picture as we gain from the Amarna Tablets for Zatatna or Sutatna (written Šutatna) of Accho, whose influence extends as far as Megiddo, and whose retainers allow themselves the liberty of plundering a Babylonian caravan, and even of slaying the merchants and envoys of the Babylonian monarch. In those days of Egyptian weakness and court intrigues it was easy to escape punishment. While Rameses III was at first a stronger ruler, it is probable that Shamgar's raids against Israel were interpreted favorably, as the subjection of the rebellious Hebrews (Ḥabiru), whose occupation of central Palestine had seriously interfered with the proceeds of the Syrian tribute.

Since Be'neh is less than two hours up the Wâdi Šaġûr from its emergence in the Plain of Accho, it is easy to understand why its prince should have taken up arms to repulse the Sea-peoples, who had doubtless established their camp in the plain, from which they could make raids on all sides. It is more than likely that the latter were not completely expelled on this occasion, since a few years later we find that the town of Harosheth, modern Tell 'Amr,[8] near Ḥārịṭîyeh, is in the hands of the *goyîm*, or

very much more serious than the ones adhering to the identification with Bēt-še'an. The Bēt-ša-el explanation is really quite impossible, both because no such city is elsewhere known, and because it is an unparalleled formation; Methusael is a learned variant of Methuselah, and not a native Hebrew name at all. It therefore seems practically certain that the Egyptian writing is only another illustration of the widespread, though sporadic, interchange between *l* and *n* in Semitic. Our name was, then, originally Bēt-še'al, perhaps "House of the god Še'al or Še'ol," the god of the underworld, and hence of fertility as well as of death, like the Babylonian Nergal-Gira, and the Latin Pluto. When this god, like Lahm, was forgotten, a popular etymology arose, just as in the case of *Lahm*, who now became *lêhem*, "bread," and *še'al* became *še'an*, "security." The relation between *še'al* and *še'ôl* is like that between *dagán*, "grain," and the divine name *Dagôn; Hadád* also appears as *Hadôd* (JAOS, 1920, p. 314, n. 14).

[8] Tell 'Amr and Tell el-Qassîs, a few miles further up the Kishon, at the entrance to the pass from the Plain of Esdraelon, are both Canaanite mounds of great interest, since they both may reflect a period of fortress building on the part of some great Canaanite or other Oriental power. That they are fortresses, rather than ordinary towns, is proved both by their situation and by their relatively small size.

"Barbarians" (in the sense of being allophyli, immigrating in hordes, or national groups), under the leadership of Sisera, whose name sounds neither Semitic nor Hittite, while it has been compared to a *Kftyw* name.

There can be no doubt that a Beth Anath at Be'neh would still be within
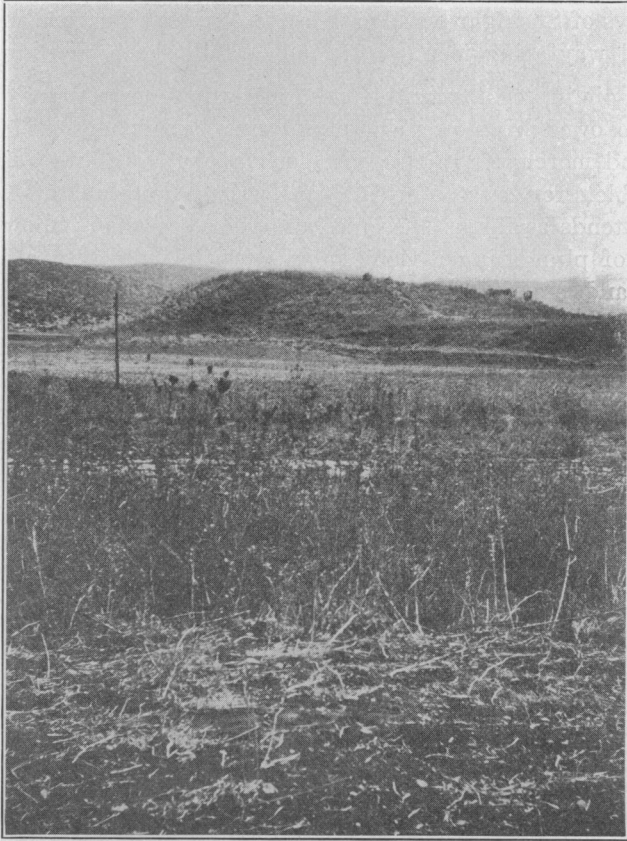

Fig. 9.   Tell 'Amr (Harosheth).

the territorial limits assumed in Jos. 19 as belonging to Naphtali.   The tribe or district of Asher occupied the coastal plain and the foothills only, so the hinterland belonged to Naphtali.   Verse 34 states that the borders of Naphtali extended to Zebulon on the south side and to Asher on the west. Now, we learn from v. 13 that the eastern boundary of Zebulon ran from Tabor up through Gath-hepher, modern Mešhed, up to Rimmon, or

Rummāneh, whence the border turned westward. Then, since Be'neh is ten miles north of Rummāneh, but only two miles west, it is natural to place it in the territory of Naphtali, in agreement with the implications of v. 34. Beth Anath escaped the fate of the other central Galilaean towns because of its strong location in a small plain communicating directly with the Plain of Accho.

The Plain of Accho is literally dotted with ancient mounds, some of which do not seem to have been occupied since Canaanite times, while others were certainly abandoned before the time of the Crusades, such as Tell Qīsān (not Qeisān), on which Saladin fixed his headquarters during the seige of 'Akkā. On the northern edge are the large mound of Tell Berweh (which was the only name the writer could obtain from the inhabitants of the neighborhood; the "Tell el-Gharby," or western mound of the Survey doubtless rests upon a misunderstanding) and the small one of Tell eṭ-Ṭanṭūr, "Mound of the horn-shaped tiara," doubtless referring to the shape of the tell. Farther south are the fine mounds of Tell Da'ūq and Tell Qīsān. Farther south still are Tell Qurdāneh and Tell en-Nahl. "Mound of the drinking," here a *lucus a non lucendo*, and hence obviously a popular etymology. In the extreme south of the plain are Tell el-Fār, el-Harbaj, a modern village crowning a splendid tell, Tell es-Semn, and Tell 'Amr, in the narrows of the Kishon. The other mounds and *ḫirab* do not appear to be of any consequence.

El-Harbaj the writer would suggest as the site of the important ancient town of Hannathon. We have the following data for the situation of this city. Amarna 8: 17 places it in the territory of Accho. While it is true that Josephus, *Wars*, V, 24, fixes the southeastern border of Accho at Besara, which Oehler (ZDPV 28, pp. 66 f.) has combined with Ḥirbet el-Beida, on the northwestern edge of Esdraelon, we can hardly assume that the 'Akkō of the Amarna period controlled so much territory as the Roman Ptolemais. Moreover, Amarna 245: 32 unmistakably places Hannathon on the road from Accho to Megiddo. Biridiya of Megiddo complains to the Pharaoh that he captured the arch-enemy, Labaya, as instructed, and turned him over to Zurata of Accho, who promised to put the prisoner on a ship and send him to Egypt. On the way from Megiddo to Accho, however, Zurata decided that the ransom offered by Labaya was attractive, and released him, sending him "from Ḥinatuna[9] to his house."

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[9] The writing *Ḥinatuna* is found also, nearly seven hundred years later, in an inscription of Tiglathpileser III (so, not IV) describing his conquest of the northern kingdom. Amarna 8:17 writes *Ḥinnatuni;* the correct pronunciation is *Ḥinnatōn;* in Hebrew we have a back-formation as a reaction from the phonetic principle by which *a* in a closed, unaccented syllable becomes *i* (Philippi's Law). The idea of Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East,* that the name only dates from the reign of Amenophis IV and is

Now, el-Harbaj is the only important mound in the Plain of Accho which lies on the road southward from 'Akkā to the narrows of the Kishon. The Babylonian envoys and merchants of Burnaburiaš evidently followed the same road, turning off at Jokneam (Tell Qeimūn)[10] to cross the hills south of Carmel, striking the road which now leads from Haifa to Jaffa at Tell el-Asāwir, ancient Yaham. This would seem to have been the most popular ancient road from Phoenicia to Sharon (cf. also Alt, *Pal. Jahrbuch,* 1914, pp. 75-79).

The Old Testament mentions Hannathon only Jos. 19: 14, where we are told that the eastern border of Zebulon ended at Rimmon (Rummāneh), whence it turned to Neah, an unknown place. The northern border proper made a bend around to Hannathon, and ended in the valley of Jephthah-el (Yiftah-el). It is remarkable that v. 11 carries the boundary of Zebulon

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identical with the name of the capital of the latter, ''Khutaten'' (i. e. ₃ḫt-itn, pronunciation unknown) is quite impossible, but one could perhaps identify it with the name of the king himself, I₃ḫnitn, approximately to be pronounced Iḫnatón. The only difficulty is that Amarna 245, where the name first occurs, belongs to the reign of Amenophis III. The name is good Semitic, being an ōn formation from a feminine noun belonging to the stem *hun;* cf. the word *hannat,* ''wife, spouse,'' found in Aramaic, in Arabic, as well as in Egyptian.

[10] While not absolutely certain that the Jokneam of Carmel is Tell Qeimūn, it is highly probable. The Tuthmosis list, No. 113 offers '*nqn' m,* or '*Ēn-qin' am,* just as we have both *Yible' am* and *Bil' am,* which prevails in modern *Bel' ameh.* A **Qin' am* could easily become by metathesis **Qim' an,* from which the passage to *Qeimūn* is easy. The Old Testament offers the variant form *Yoqme' am,* which may be simply an error. It is better to leave the Cyamon of Judith out of account entirely. It may be observed that we have still another place-name in Galilee containing the element '*am,* ''people.'' This is the *Šefar' am* of the Talmud, modern *Šefā-'Amr,* which exhibits a transposition of the *r* and an extraordinary popular etymology, ''Healing of 'Amr,'' alluding to one of the Galilaean national heroes of the eighteenth century, whose name is found in many other place-names (e. g. Tell 'Amr). It is probable that *Šefar-'am* is a modification of an original form with the imperfect instead of the imperative, **Yišpar-'am,* which probably means ''The people rules'' (Assyr. *šapāru,* Arab. *saffara,* ''send, commission''; the Assyr. also means ''rule,'' while Heb. *safár, sippér* is denominative from the Assyr. loanword *séfer,* ''document''). In the same way we have *Yible-'am,* perhaps for **Yabil-'am,* ''The people produces (offspring)'' shortened to *Bil-'am* (note the correct imperative form) and **Yiqne-'am* (the vocalization is required by the modern form; the MT offers a passive, which was probably alternative) ''The people acquires (wealth).'' Similarly, forms like *Rehab-'am* (Rehoboam) are modifications of **Yirhab-'am,* ''The people is extended,'' like *Yarob-'am* (Jeroboam) which should be rendered ''The people increases'' (*yarób* is the regular imperfect of *rabáb,* ''increase'') or perhaps, though not so probably, ''The people rules'' (*rabba* in Arabic has the specific meaning ''to rule, of people''). We may compare also many old Amorite names found in the cuneiform inscriptions; note especially the three names from the Amorite Dynasty of Babylonia, '*Ammu-ráwih,* ''The people is extended,'' '*Ammī-dītān,* ''My people is mighty,'' and '*Ammī-sáduq,* ''My people is righteous.''

on the southwest only from Šadūd (MT Sarid, which is generally agreed to be a corruption), modern Tell Šadūd, to the "stream before Jokneam." Since the insignificant Wādi el-Milḥ, which skirts the tell on the west, cannot be said to flow before it, we can only understand that the Kishon is referred to. Then we have no statement about the boundary between
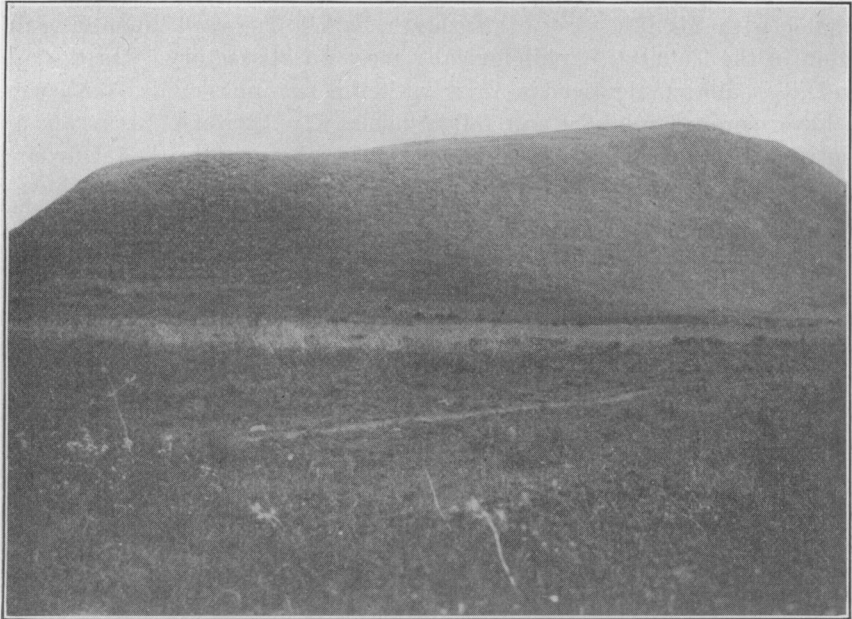

Fig. 10. Tell Qeimūn (Jokneam).

the Kishon and the end of the valley of Jephthah-el. This difficulty will, however, be solved if we can find an important *wādi* running from the Sahl Buṭṭauf, on the southern slope of which Rimmon lay, into the Kishon in the southern part of the Plain of Accho. Precisely in this situation is situated the most important stream in all western Galilee, aside from the Kishon—the perennial Wādi el-Melik, whose association with the town of Alammelech in Asher is without foundation. El-Harbaj is located about two miles above its mouth, and just at the point where the wādi crosses the road from Accho to Megiddo, so we may consider our identification practically certain. The ordinary identification of Jephthah-el with the Wādi 'Abellīn is erroneous, as is also the attempt to combine the name philologically with Jotapata-Yōdéfet.

The territory claimed by Zebulon, however, clearly was at times more extensive, since v. 15 also includes Kattath and Nahallal (so, in AV), which, according to Jud. 1: 30, remained in the hands of the Canaanites, so evidently lay out on the plain of Accho, beyond Hannathon. The correct forms of these two names are probably *Nahalol* or *Nahalal*, with MT, and **Qiṭrōnat*, which we may deduce from the variant forms *Qiṭrōn*, *Qaṭṭat*, and *Qaṭanat* (so LXX, Καταναθ). The usual combination of Nahalol with Ma'lūl, west of Nazareth, which is based upon a combination in the Talmud, is philologically most unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it is almost identical in form with the *nahl* in *Tell en-Nahl*, where we have merely haplology and folk-etymology. *Qiṭrōnat has never been identified, but may easily be represented by the modern Tell Qurdāneh, a fairly large mound four miles northeast of Tell en-Nahl. We have in this case transposition and partial assimilation of the *ṭ* to the voiced *r;* cf. above on Kedron and Qatra.

It can hardly be objected that the Plain of Accho seems to have been assigned principally to the tribe of Asher, for we do not know what the exact extent of the holdings of the latter was supposed to be. Jos. 19: 24-31 appears to be hopelessly corrupt, and no clear idea can be gained from it. V. 26, in its present form, implies that the border extended as far as Carmel westward (whatever that may mean) and reached the mysterious Shihor-libnath. Thence it turned, skirting the valley of Jephthah-el, and reaching a point in the neighborhood of Cabul, the site of which is happily known. On the other hand, it is hard to explain v. 29 f. as meaning anything except that the southwestern border was formed by Achzib (Ez-Zib), Accho (read, with the majority of scholars, עכה instead of עמה), Aphek, and Rehob. Perhaps we have, as elsewhere in these theoretical divisions of tribal possessions, different, conflicting theories. It is well-known that some of the ''tribes'' were true ethnic groups, while others were districts. In Jos. 17: 11 this is vouched for by the words, ''And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Beth-shean * * Ibleam * * Dor * * Endor * * Taanach * * Megiddo * * .'' In several places (e. g. 17: 9) it is expressly stated that the boundaries were not hard and fast, but that towns belonging to one tribe were found within the ''borders'' of another. I am inclined to think that the Kishion of Issachar (Jos. 19: 20) is modern Tell Qīsān, a splendid mound in the eastern part of the Plain of Accho. We should, at all events, read *Qišōn*, with some MSS.; the name is the same as that of the river, though there is probably no connection between them. In Joshua the name follows Rabbith, probably the same as the cuneiform Rubute, a town near Taanach; in the Tuthmosis list *Qsn* follows an Adummim, and precedes Shunem, Misheal (in Asher!), and Achshaph (also in Asher).

A number of these identifications must remain tentative until more evidence comes to light, as will infallibly be the case sooner or later. The identification of Beth Anath with Be'neh, Beth Shemesh with Tell eš-Šemdîn, and of Hannathon with el-Harbaj seems extremely probable, and the association of Tell en-Nahl with Nahalol, Tell Qurdāneh with *Qiṭrōnah,
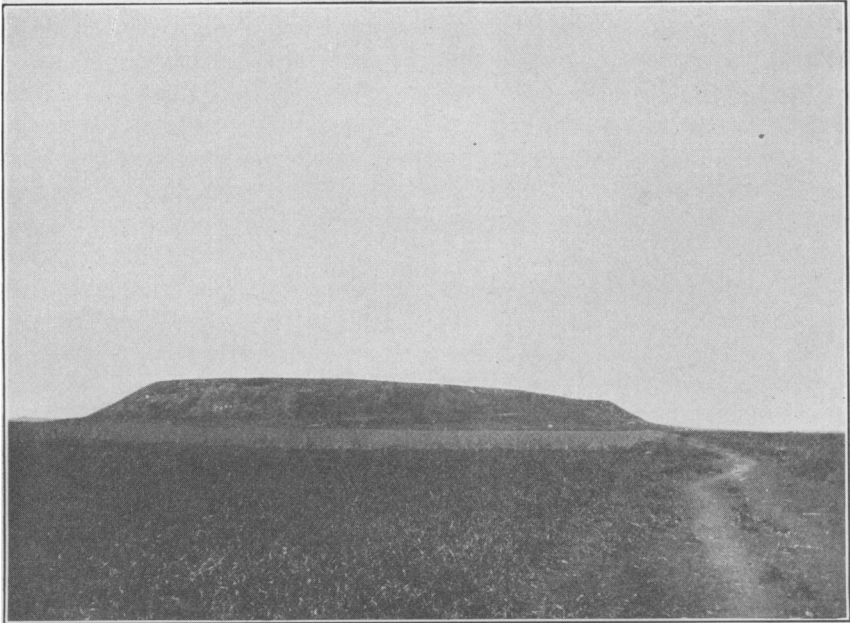

Fig. 11. Tell Qīsān (Kishion).

Tell Qīsān with Qīšōn commends itself as at least plausible. Some of the older identifications are philologically absurd, like that of the Beth Dagon in Asher with Tell Da'ūq. The writer has nothing to offer, however. On the other hand it may be suggested that Rehob, an important town in Asher, mentioned a number of times in the Old Testament, in the Egyptian lists (Rḥb), as well as in the Taanach correspondence (Raḥabi), is Tell Berweh. The latter is a beautiful mound, six hundred paces in circumference at the top, and 75 feet high; quantities of Graeco-Roman potsherds show that it was occupied down to Roman times, when it was abandoned, as no distinctively Arab pottery could be found. The modern village of Berweh lies about a mile to the northeast. Jos. 19 : 28 mentions Rehob as one of a line of towns running north from Cabul, modern Kābūl, to Kanah,

modern Qāna, southeast of Tyre. V. 30 places Rehob after Accho (so) and Aphek, in a line of towns running in a southerly direction. We may harmonize the two sets of data perfectly if we suppose that 'Ebrōn (preferable to the alternative form 'Abdon, which is therefore erroneously identified with modern 'Abdeh, quite aside from the topographical difficulty) is
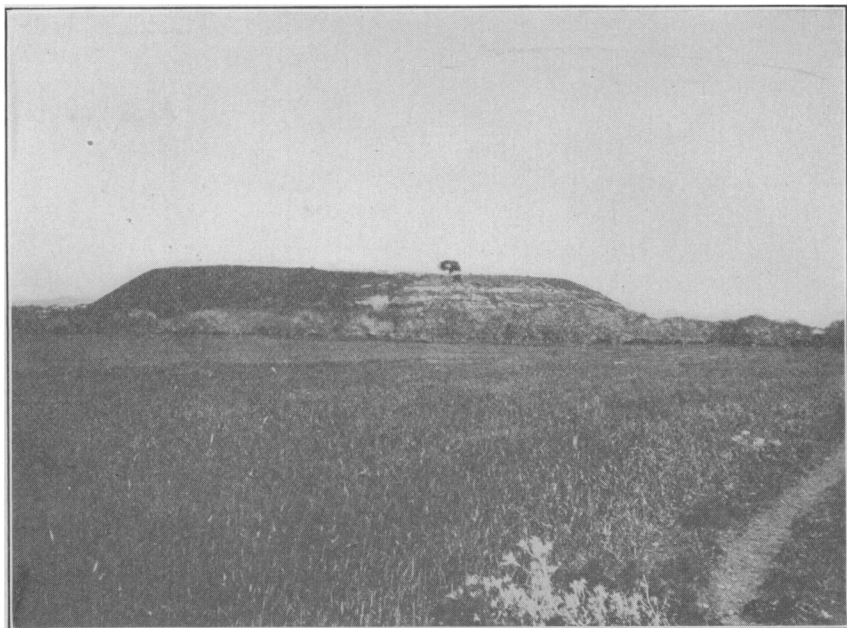

Fig. 12.   Tell Berweh (Rehob).

Modern Ša'ib, certainly an ancient settlement, and that Aphek[11] is Tell eṭ-Ṭanṭūr. The location of Tell Berweh explains fully why Rehob maintained its independence.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the most important Canaanite and Israelite sites in Galilee were in the plains, and hence along the edges of the country. In Roman times Galilee received a great accession of prosperity, which led to the unprecedented development of all districts,

[11] The word *afeq* (also *afīq* is found) means properly "elevation," surviving only as a place-name. Heb. *hit'appeq*, "restrain oneself, compose oneself," means properly "keep oneself in an elevated, dignified mood, buoy oneself up," a sense which is still clear in most of the passages. The opposite is "break down." Ar. *ufq*, "horizon," means properly "firmament." The problem of the different Apheks will be taken up soon in another connection.

especially in the central and eastern part. It would therefore be a mistake to look for early remains of importance under most of the deserted mounds and ruins in Galilee. For example, in the Plain of Asochis there are several ancient mounds, Tell Bedewīyeh, ancient Asochis, Tell Rūmeh, ancient Roma, Ḥirbet Qāna, ancient Cana,[12] not one of which can be traced to a period before the Christian era. The relative absence of important early mounds from the eastern part of the country naturally increases the interest of the few remaining, such as Tell Qades (Kadesh Naphtali), Tell Ḥarrāwi (Hazor), Tell el-'Oreimeh, Tell eš-Šemdîn, etc. But in the Plains of Esdraelon and Accho are vast treasure-houses of ancient remains, still to be tapped, for the most part. Some of the finest tells have not even been identified, as Tell Abū Šūšeh. They are indeed a challenge to stir the pulses of the archaeologist, and excite him to action!

In the fifteen months which have elapsed since the preceding was written, much new material has accumulated, owing especially to the British excavations in the Plain of Acre (el-Harbaj, Tell 'Amr, Tell el-Qassîs). Harbaj is a site of the bronze and early iron ages (mainly the former), so there is no objection to its being identified with Hannathon. Tell 'Amr is an exclusively iron age site, though clearly founded very early in this period, a fact which materially increases the probability that it represents Harosheth, which, if built shortly before the time of the war between Sisera and Israel, would date back to about 1200 B. C.—In a careful examination of Tell Qurdâneh, the writer found evidence of Canaanite occupation, as well as sherds of the early iron age.—For Bêt 'Anat in the Talmud cf. also Klein, ZDPV, 1910, p. 87f.

III. The Location of Taricheae

It may safely be said that the question of the exact site of Taricheae is the most complicated topographical problem in Palestine. Few debates in the whole range of the science of historical geography have raged more hotly, with a greater ebb and flow of opinion. Since the mysterious name Taricheae, ''Fish-curing plants,'' or, in modern parlance, ''Fish-canneries,'' does not occur once in the Bible, the student of the Scriptures may wonder what interest or importance this controversy can have for him. But if he learns that Taricheae was one of the most flourishing cities in

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[12] It may be observed that many of the tells given on the Survey maps do not amount to anything at all. Tell el-Wāwīyāt, for example, is absolutely nothing but some low heaps of stone which presumably have been raked up from surrounding fields. Some of these ''tells'' have not a trace of a mound, and owe their names more or less obviously to transference from a neighboring site.

Galilee in the time of Jesus, situated on the very Sea of Galilee, where so many unforgettable events of His life transpired, the discussion may gain in significance, especially if the likelihood is suggested that Taricheae does appear in the gospels, but under a different name.   Even if it should prove to have no direct interest to the New Testament scholar, its role in the Gali-
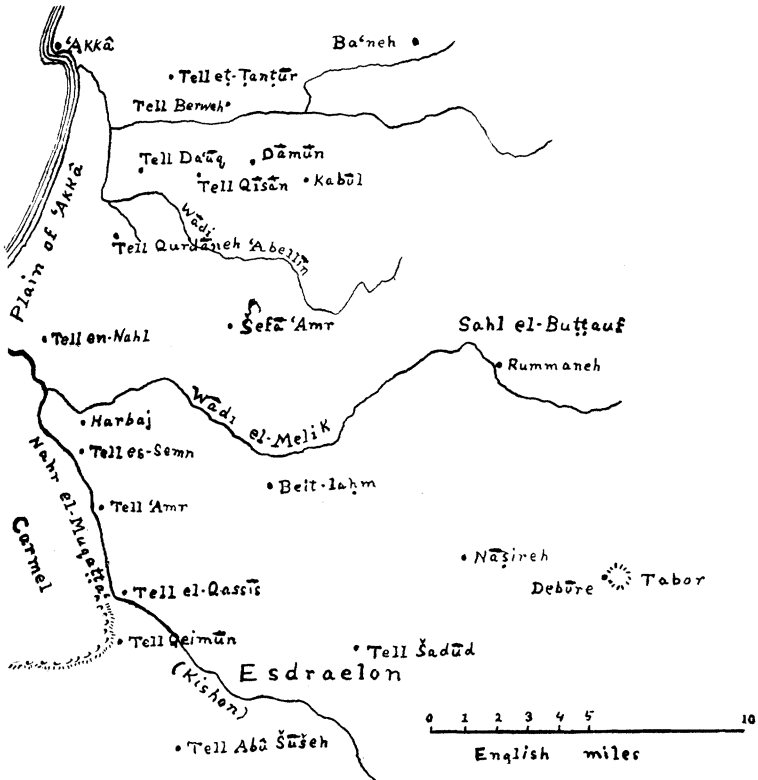
Fig. 13.

laean rebellion, which brought about the downfall of Jewish political power in Palestine, was such as to require that the historian get as clear an idea of its site as possible.

Happily it is unnecessary to add a new theory to those already proposed by others, since almost every site on the western coast of the lake, not pre-occupied by a town like Tiberias or Capernaum, has been claimed for Tari-cheae.   We may now disregard most of these views, which have been found

too defective to merit serious consideration; the attempts to fix the site at Ḥân Minyeh (Kiepert) and Ḥirbet Kadīs (De Saulcy) have now only a historical interest. On the other hand, the proposal of Lieutenant Kitchener, then at the outset of his marvelous career, to place the town at Ḥirbet Quneiṭrīyeh (PEFG, 1877, 120 f.), between Tiberias and Mejdel, had certain merits, and did honor to the perspicacity of the young explorer. The contest has been mainly waged between protagonists of the Ḥirbet Kerak site and supporters of Mejdel. After long remaining in possession of the field, the former found themselves seriously challenged by the latter; for decades the discussion went on, with varying fortunes, until, finally, as if by common consent, an armistice has been declared, leaving Ḥirbet Kerak in undisputed control, so far as the writer can see. It is, perhaps, an indication of temerity to venture to reopen the tournament, and to throw down the rusty gauntlet once more for Mejdel, but it is done in the conviction that the new archaeological material, combined with a more thorough sifting of the literary evidence, will turn the scales, and definitely overthrow the Ḥirbet Kerak hypothesis.

The first scientific student of the historical geography of the Holy Land, Edward Robinson, expressed himself, in 1841,[1] in support of Ḥirbet Kerak, for three reasons. It was south of the lake, in accordance with Pliny, roughly thirty stadia from Tiberias, as stated by Josephus, and was, moreover, the only unoccupied ancient site of importance on the southwestern shore of the lake. In 1880 Guérin came out at length for the same site, though without providing any new arguments.[2]

In 1877 Major (later Sir) Charles Wilson formally recanted the endorsement of the Ḥirbet Kerak theory which he had published in 1866 in his *Recovery of Jerusalem,* and for the first time advanced the suggestion that Taricheae was located at Mejdel, thirty stadia north of Tiberias, instead of south.[3] In support of his view he pointed out that the plain statements of Josephus can only be reconciled with a site north of Tiberias, since Vespasian is said to have marched from Scythopolis (Beisân) before moving on to attack the rebels in Taricheae. Moreover, Josephus says that Taricheae lay at the foot of a mountain, from which archers were able to shoot arrows into the city—a description which does not fit Kerak at all, but agrees perfectly with the situation of Mejdel. Taricheae was the Greek name of Magdala, modern Mejdel.

The same volume of the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* contained a note by Lieut. Kitchener (cf. above), attempting to fix the site of

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[1] *Biblical Researches,* Vol. II, p. 387.
[2] *Galilée,* Vol. I, pp. 275-280.
[3] PEFQ, 1877, pp. 10-13.

the ancient city at Ḥirbet Quneiṭrīyeh, on a lofty hill just south of the mouth of the Wādi Abū el-'Amīs, north of Tiberias.[4]   His arguments coincided closely with those of Wilson, except that he did not take the distance of thirty stadia given by Josephus seriously.   In a second note[5] he squared his theory with Josephus, by suggesting that the citadel only was on the
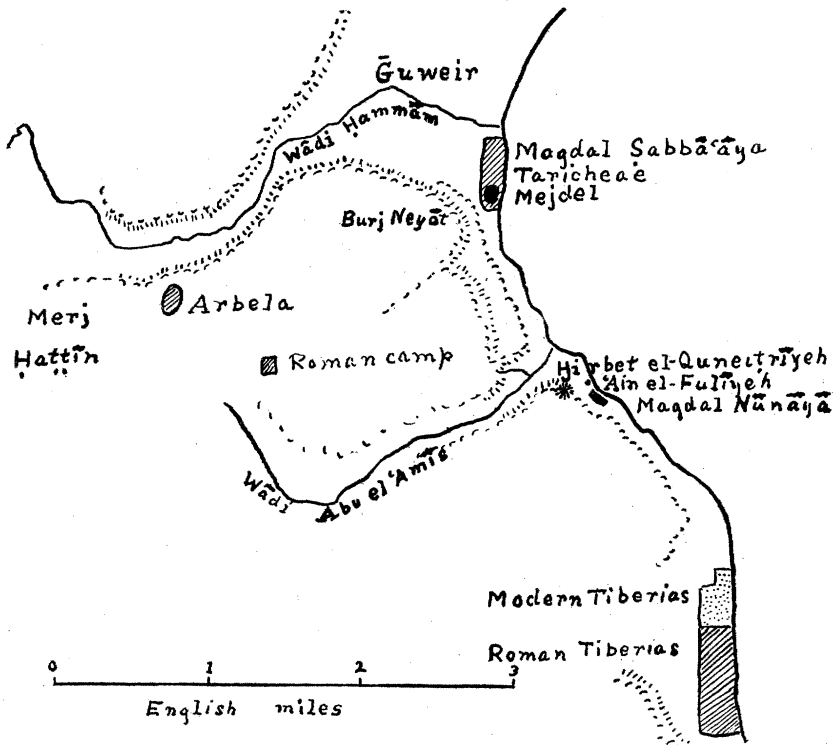
Fig. 14.

hill, while the town lay at its foot, stretched along the shore, "where there are traces of ruins and springs of water."   To Conder's objection[6] that Pliny's explicit statement puts Taricheae south of the lake, Kitchener replied that Pliny also places Julias east of the lake, while it is really north.[7]
   The debate was terminated, for the time being, by an article from the

[4] PEFQ, 1877, p. 120 f.
[5] PEFQ, 1878, p. 165.
[6] PEFQ, 1877, p. 181.
[7] PEFQ, 1878, p. 79.

pen of Major Conder, "Notes on the Position of Taricheae."[8]   After a résumé of the arguments, not without a sophistic touch here and there, he closes the subject—"definitely."

The very next year, however, the debate began again on a much more elaborate scale in the pages of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*   In a good article,[9] Furrer entered the lists for Mejdel.   For the first time, he brings the Talmudic material into the discussion, suggesting that the flourishing Migdal of the Rabbinic period, which had been destroyed "because of the immorality of its population," was the Graeco-Roman Taricheae.   However, there is one serious error.   Josephus says that Vespasian, after entering Tiberias, pitched his camp between that town and Taricheae, to fight against the revolutionists at Taricheae.   Some weeks later, after Taricheae had fallen, we learn that Vespasian removed his camp from the hot springs at Ammaus,[10] to attack Gamala.   Like most scholars, Furrer assumed that the camps were identical, and so identified these springs with the lukewarm springs at the mouth of the Wādi 'Ammās (another form of Abū el-'Amīs), just south of Mejdel.   This slip of his was clearly pointed out some years later by Dr. Dechent, in a paper on "Heil-bäder und Badeleben in Palästina," who showed that one could not reasonably distinguish between the hot springs of Ammaus and the hot springs of Emmatha (Eusebius), Hebrew Ḥammat, Arab. Ḥammām, just south of Tiberias.[11]

The following year Spiess printed a paper on the site of Taricheae, in which he gave a good summation of the arguments from Josephus for Mejdel, without, however, considering any of the Talmudic material, or expressing himself on the subject of the hot springs at Ammaus.[12]   The next writer, Frei, in an elaborate paper, describing the shores of the sea of Galilee,[13] accepts the conclusions of Spiess very guardedly, at the same time expressing his surprise that there should be no trace left at Mejdel of the old city wall of Taricheae, to say nothing of its buildings.

It was now the turn of the adherents of the Kerak hypothesis, led by Van Kasteren, who defended it very ably in the course of a long article on the Sea of Galilee.[14]   However, since his detailed treatment of Josephus demanded frequent rejection of this writer's account, even where it is most

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[8] PEFQ, 1878, pp. 190-2.

[9] ZDPV II (1879), pp. 55-57.

[10] With the appearance of Niese's edition of Josephus (Vol. VI, 1894), the impossible reading Αμμαους has been given up in favor of Αμμαθους.

[11] ZDPV VII (1884), pp. 177-9.

[12] ZDPV VIII (1885), pp. 95-9.

[13] ZDPV IX (1886), pp. 104-8.

[14] ZDPV XI (1888), pp. 215-8, 241-8.

circumstantial, the effect is not altogether favorable. The reply of Furrer, however, while much more satisfactory in its handling of Josephus,[15] hurt his own cause by stressing the impossible identification of Ammaus with 'Ammās or 'Amīs. Moreover, in using the Talmud he made an extraordinary mistake, placing "Hamata" between Tiberias and Magdala, a Sabbath day's journey from each, whereas the passage indicates clearly that Tiberias lay between Magdālā and Ḥammāta (see below).

Kerak was now defended again by Buhl, who discussed the matter briefly,[16] correcting some previous slips, but, like Van Kasteren, treating Josephus very cavalierly, speaking of his "unglücklichen Bogenschützen auf dem Berge," etc. Furrer's new response was rather weak,[17] resting wholly on the assumption that there were warm springs at the mouth of the Wādi 'Ammās, where he therefore located both the Ammaus or Ammathus (following Niese's correction) of Josephus and the Ḥammāta of the Talmud. However, he considered himself justified in asserting: "Ich halte die Identification von Tarichea mit Magdala in der Ebene Gennesar für eins der gesichertsten Ergebnisse der historischen Topographie Palästina's." That the conclusion was premature appeared immediately, when Guthe, as editor of the journal, closed the controversy with a short article of his own, in which he ranged himself with Van Kasteren and Schürer in favor of the southern theory. Here he laid the stress upon the fact that Josephus describes the plain as lying before the city, in the direction of the Roman camp placed between Tiberias and Taricheae. Concluding that the plain of Ḡuweir, north of Mejdel, is out of consideration, he observed that the only other suitable plain near Tiberias lay farther south, to the northwest of Kerak. Guthe showed, further, that the Ammathus of Josephus could only refer to Ḥammāta, the hot-springs of Tiberias, south of the city.

The question was still so obscure that when George Adam Smith published his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* in 1894, he left it open, after presenting the evidence in such a way as to imply a tendency to adopt the Kerak hypothesis (pp. 451-5). Two years later, however, Buhl expressed himself again strongly in favor of Kerak.[18]

In 1905 the discussion was reopened by Oehler, in his monograph on *Die Ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus.*[19] The material from Josephus is now subjected to a most thorough examination, in the light of the entire preceding discussion, and Oehler gives his support unreservedly

[15] ZDPV XII (1889), pp. 145-8.
[16] ZDPV XIII (1890), pp. 38-41.
[17] ZDPV XIII, pp. 194-8.
[18] *Geographie des alten Palästina,* 1896, p. 227 f.
[19] ZDPV XXVIII (1905), pp. 11-20.

to the Mejdel theory, while admitting that it is archaeologically somewhat more difficult than the other. That the matter was not yet settled, however, became clear in 1910, when one of the best authorities on modern Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, came out emphatically for the southern view, stressing the fact that an important ancient city was located at Kerak.[20] However, his treatment is much less critically handled than Oehler's, and makes a decidedly weak impression.

The most recent discussion of this involved subject which the writer has seen is from the pen of no less a master than Dalman (*Pal. Jahrbuch*, 1913, p. 36 f.), who decides in favor of Kerak, basing his verdict partly on the discovery of the fragments of an elaborate stone-pipe aqueduct, which carried the water in Roman days from Wādi Fejjās into Kerak. However, the undoubted existence here of an important city in Roman times does not prove that Kerak was Taricheae, as will be shown in detail below.

After this brief account of the debate which has been carried on for the past two generations over the true site of Taricheae, let us turn to the study of the material, both literary and archaeological. Our sources for the former side are Josephus, Pliny, and the Talmud, for the latter the observations of Dalman, Masterman, and others, supplemented by the results of two trips, in September, 1920, and April, 1921, when the writer was able to utilize the disclosures made most conveniently by the excavations for the new road from Semaḥ to Ṣāfed. This road has been cut through no less than three shallow ancient mounds, two of the Roman and one of the Arabic period, as demonstrated conclusively by the potsherds.

The classical passage for Taricheae is Josephus, *Wars*, III, ix, 7—x, 5. We learn that Vespasian, after the fall of Joppa, went to Caesarea Philippi, where he remained twenty days. On being informed, however, that Tiberias was on the point of revolution, and that Taricheae had actually revolted (Τιβεριὰς μὲν νεωτερίζειν, ἀφεστάναι δὲ Ταριχέαι), he sent Titus to bring the army from Caesarea on the coast to Scythopolis, the capital of the Decapolis and Tiberias's neighbor (γείτων τῆς Τιβεριάδος), a statement which would be incomprehensible if Taricheae were situated between the two cities. Meanwhile he went to Scythopolis himself, and, after his son had arrived, advanced with three legions to a point thirty stadia from Tiberias, called Sennabris (Ennabris is haplography), which might easily be seen by the revolutionaries (εὐσύνοπτον τοῖς νεωτερίζουσιν). There can be no doubt as to the location of Sennabris, since the name, appearing in Aramaic as Ṣinnabrī and in mediaeval Arabic as Ṣinnabrah,[21]

[20] PEFQ, 1910, pp. 274-9.

[21] Yāqūt, III, p. 419. The geographer expressly states that it is written with a *kesrah* in the first syllable, which makes it very remarkable that Le Strange should write it with a *fathah*, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 531.

still survives,[22] attached to some ruins on a low hill northwest of Kerak, and now occupied by the Jewish colony of Chinnereth. As a matter of fact, Chinnereth is hidden from the sight of an observer at Tiberias by the intervening hills, but it could easily be seen from the summit of the hills behind Tiberias, as well as by launching out a short distance into the lake. Since Josephus in this passage lays stress on the fact that the revolutionists were in control of the lake, where they had a large fleet of boats, from which they fought the Romans, this fact does not contradict his narrative at all. The suggestion advanced by one or two scholars that the term ''revolutionists'' (given by the English students, following Whiston, as ''innovators'') refers to the Taricheans instead of to the men of Tiberias, as the clear sequence of Josephus's narrative indicates, would be a strong argument for the location at Kerak but for two awkward facts. Sennabris is only three or four hundred yards from Kerak, with which it was connected by a wall, the remains of which were still visible in the time of the Survey. There can be no doubt that in Roman times the name Sennabris included both Sinnabrah and Ḥirbet Kerak. Josephus says (*Wars*, V, viii, 2) that the Jordan Valley extended from Sinnabris (written in the MSS. Ginnabris) as far as the Dead Sea. With this statement we must compare the remark of the Talmud that the Jordan begins at Bēt Yeraḥ; since the Talmud elsewhere distinguishes between the two adjoining villages of Sinnabrī and Bēt Yeraḥ, it is evident that by this time the two places had become separate again, and that Bēt Yeraḥ[23] was the name given to Ḥirbet Kerak by the Aramean inhabitants. The name was thus not in use under the Romans, who joined the two towns with a wall, and constructed a pipe aqueduct to bring water from the springs in Wādi Fejjās. In Arabic times there can be little doubt that the fortress of Sinnabrah was situated on the low plateau between the Jordan and the lake, whose present name, Ḥirbet el-Kerak, means ''Ruin of the fortress.'' Yāqūt says explicitly (III, 419): Eṣ-ṣinnabrah[24] is a place on the Jordan opposite the pass of Afīq (now Ḥirbet

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[22] In the time of the Survey the name appears to have been pronounced *Sinn en-Nabrah*, pointing to an extraordinary popular etymology, ''Tooth of the hair-lip,'' or the like. Now that the hill has been occupied by a *kombānīyeh* (Jewish colony) the name seems to have fallen into disuse. We were unable to find any Arabs who knew it.

[23] The name Bēt Yeraḥ is surely ancient, and probably pre-Israelite, since the latter would hardly have called a town ''House of the moon.'' Another place of the same name is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as being in the neighborhood of Byblos (Bīt Arḫa). A short distance to the south of Bēt Yeraḥ was Beth Shemesh, ''House of the sun.'' It is possible that the town of Chinnereth, whose existence dates back at least to Canaanite days, was located here, or at the Jewish colony which now bears the name, but very improbable, since Jos. 19: 35 f. places it after Hammath and Rakkath (Tiberias) and before Hazor and Kedesh. One thinks immediately of Tell el-'Oreimeh, near Tābġah, where Karge discovered a late Canaanite settlement.

[24] This is the only correct Arabic form; cf. above.

el-'Aqabah, southwest of Fīq), between it and Tiberias, three miles (from the latter). Hence it is absurd to say that the Roman camp at Sennabris might easily be seen by rebels who occupied the very town near which the camp was pitched. However, as Buhl, a supporter of the Kerak hypothesis, frankly admits,[25] the whole tenor of the passage shows clearly that the revolutionists referred to were those in Tiberias.
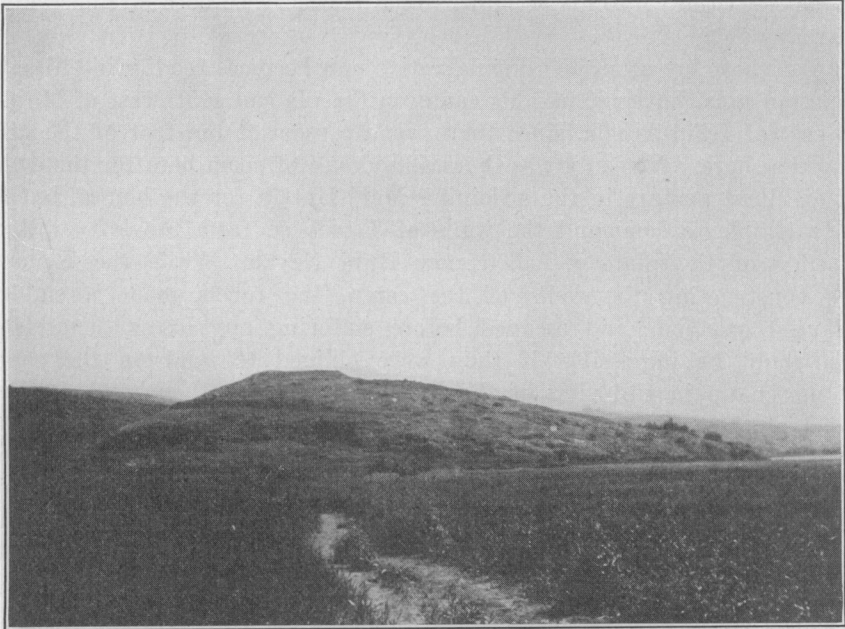

Fig. 15. Tell el-'Oreimeh.

After spending a night in the provisional camp at Sennabris, Vespasian came to terms with the principal men of Tiberias, and entered the city, breaking down part of the southern wall, to allow the large Roman army to enter without a delay which might be dangerous, in view of the treacherous attitude of the rebels. Meanwhile, the revolutionaries, led by Jesus, fled in haste to Taricheae. Since the way south was completely barred by the Romans, they would be obliged to go by sea—but Josephus says not a word of boats, though he never neglects to mention them when they were employed. Hereupon we are informed that Vespasian advanced (προελθών—he had been marching steadily northward) to a point between

[25] ZDPV XIII, p. 39.

Tiberias and Taricheae, where he pitched his camp, fortifying it more
strongly (than before), since he expected that there would be a long con-
flict (πολέμου τριβὴν). If he had already spent a night almost under the
walls of Taricheae—since the much-lauded plain is here only about half a
mile wide at most—considerably less between Chinnereth and the heights—
why this sudden solicitude? Josephus knew this country intimately, and
it is simply impossible that he should have introduced so many absurdities
and contradictions into his account, which is otherwise both circumstantial
and reasonable.

If Taricheae lay at Mejdel our narrative now becomes readily intelligible.
Vespasian must have pitched his camp on the plateau southwest of Mejdel
and east of Irbid-Arbela, since there was no room at the foot of the hills
along the shore. Not only was there abundance of room here for the camp
and excellent pasture in the adjoining Merj Ḥaṭṭīn for the horses, but he
also was able to command the walls of Taricheae from the lofty hill at
the edge of the plateau, called now Burj Neyāt. While the Romans
were constructing the walls of the camp, the rebels made a sudden
onslaught on them, and escaped before suffering any losses themselves.
This would be impossible if they were obliged to land on the shore
and march up in full view of the Romans. On the other hand, if they
landed at the mouth of the Wādi Abū el-'Amīs and crept up the wādi
toward the Roman camp, it would be possible for them to get very
close before being observed, and to retreat down the wādi to their boats
without fear of a cavalry pursuit, which the steepness of the ground
rendered quite impracticable. Meanwhile, Vespasian heard (ἀκούων)
that a large body of rebels had gathered in the plain before the city of
Taricheae (ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ) and sent his son, with six hundred
horsemen, to disperse them. This detail is the chief card played by the
protagonists of Kerak. Of a sudden they become greatly exercised by
the preposition "before," though the occurrence of the same preposition
in προελθὼν (see above) does not disturb them at all, despite its obvious
implication. We must remember that, on our theory, Taricheae corre-
sponded to modern Mejdel and the part of the plain lying directly north
of it, which is strewn with Roman pottery for hundreds of yards.
Since it lay at the southern corner of the Ğuweir, the latter may easily
be said to lie in front of it. Moreover, the Roman cavalry was obliged
to come down the gorge of the Wādi Ḥammām from the Merj Ḥaṭṭīn,
above Arbela. Since there was then a Roman road down the Wādi,
while the summit of the cliff was commanded by the Romans, this was
very easy. On emerging into the Ğuweir, moreover, there was an extensive
plain actually lying between them and Taricheae. In order to prevent
the archers on the city wall from assailing the Roman flank, as the

cavalry attacked the enemy in front of the town, the general sent two thousand archers to hold the mountain opposite the city and to keep a rain of arrows on the walls. The idea expressed by Masterman[26] that "the mountain that was over against the city" (τὸ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος) represents "the lower slopes of the hill known today as *Sinn en-Nabra*",
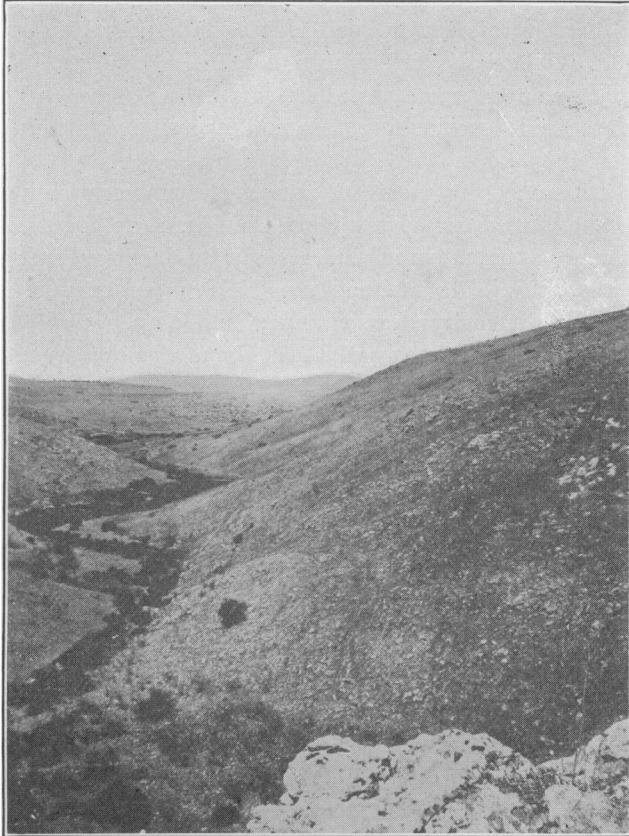

Fig. 16. Ḥammām above Arbela.

is simply grotesque to one who has seen the insignificant hill in question. The other defenders of the Kerak theory impugn the veracity of the historian (cf. above for Buhl's comment), but do not venture to make this suggestion, which is really a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole hypothesis. It is very remarkable that no supporter of Mejdel has yet attempted to

[26] PEFQ, 1910, p. 278.

work out a serious plan of the fight. It is little details, like the state-
ment that Vespasian "heard" of the military manoeuvers of the enemy
in the plain before the city, which weigh most heavily against Kerak.
Moreover, Titus and his followers could not have ridden into Kerak by
the lake, which is too deep, with too steep a bank, while at Mejdel the
shore shelves very gradually, as anyone who has landed there will
remember very distinctly. Since Taricheae had been an unwalled town,
Josephus had hastily raised a wall with the small sum of money left after
he had fortified Tiberias. The reason for the absence of a sea-wall is
evident; he depended upon the fleet of fishing smacks to maintain
possession of the sea, overlooking the shallowness of the lake bottom at
this point.

It is tacitly assumed by most adherents of the Kerak hypothesis that
the camp pitched by Vespasian before Taricheae is identical with the
camp at Ammathus, from which he set out to begin operations against
Gamala, on the other side of the lake.[27] However, in the intervening
three weeks he might easily have changed his camp several times. It is
a great mistake to suppose that all these Roman camps were fortified in
accordance with the military ideal. In a country like Palestine, moreover,
where stakes and logs are virtually unobtainable, and stone is abundant,
it would take a very short time for an army to pile up a stone rampart
around the camp. Masterman's comparison of the Roman camp at
Masada, which was a permanent fortress, is quite irrelevant.[28] Evidently
Vespasian removed his camp from the plain above Taricheae to the hot
springs of Tiberias, Ḥammātā-Ammathus, where he gave his army a period
of relaxation from the toils of war.

The argument for the Mejdel site from Josephus's story of his flight
to Taricheae from Tiberias (*Life*, 59) is too tenuous to merit extended
consideration. It is handled as well as possible by Oehler, for Mejdel;[29]
Masterman, for Kerak, gives it a very unsatisfactory treatment,[30] which
it is hardly worth our while to refute in detail. Oehler has also marshalled
a number of passages which seem to favor Mejdel rather than Kerak, but
they are all nebulous except one.[31] Tiberias is repeatedly styled a border

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[27] Josephus, *Wars*, IV, i, 3.

[28] PEFQ, 1910, p. 278, n. 1.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

[30] PEFQ, 1910, p. 279.

[31] Oehler forgets one episode, which points clearly to the northern site. *Life*, 72,
Josephus narrates a retreat from the Romans, during which his horse stumbled and
threw him, so that he injured an arm. He was taken at once to the village of Capernaum,
but since fever ensued, he was removed the following evening to Taricheae, evidently
the nearest large town.

town, on the southeastern boundary of Galilee, or on the borders of the territory of Scythopolis. In *Life*, 9, 65 Josephus alludes to the boundary between Tiberias and Scythopolis, leaving no room for Taricheae. However, the force of this argument is weakened by the fact that only the capitals of districts are considered in such statements; Taricheae, like Sennabris, was not the capital of a district, but belonged to Tiberias. Josephus's statement that Taricheae was thirty stadia from Tiberias agrees with either location, since he in one place says that Sennabris was also thirty stadia from Tiberias. Mejdel is a trifle nearer the probable northern limit of the early Roman Tiberias than Kerak is to the apparent southern limit of the city. Professor McCown has called my attention to the fact, which does not appear to have been noticed hitherto, that with Josephus thirty stadia is the conventional designation for the distance covered in an hour's march, and is thus exactly equivalent to the Perso-Arabic parasang, or *farsaḥ*. So naturally does the historian use the expression in this sense that he even fixes the height of Mount Tabor as thirty stadia, meaning, of course, that it took an hour for the ascent, in strict accordance with the truth. In level terrain, with a good road, thirty stadia would have an entirely different significance from its meaning in rough, mountainous country.

Having disposed of the evidence from Josephus, let us take up Pliny's statement, which our opponents invariably quote as a final, clinching argument. The Roman encyclopaedist says (*Hist. Nat.* V, 15): (*Lacum Genesaram*) *amoenis circumseptum oppidis—ab oriente Juliade et Hippo; a meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant; ab occidente Tiberiade aquis calidis salubri.* Since Julias (Bethsaida) is due north, and not east, one might feel doubtful about the statement that Taricheae lay south of the lake. One's confidence in Pliny's accuracy in matters Palestinian, already shaken, is quite shattered when one learns that in the following section he places Machaerus also south of the Dead Sea, whereas it is in fact northeast. It is evident that Pliny got his information orally, from Roman officers or travellers in the East, whose memory was not always reliable. One may point out that to an observer in Tell Ḥûm Mejdel really appears to lie on the southern shore. It is hard to see why Pliny, who never visited Palestine, should be preferred to Josephus, who knew the country thoroughly. It is to be feared that the native egoism and love of exaggeration characteristic of Josephus has blinded many to his real excellences. Nor is it surprising that the historian who has devoted his hours to Caesar and Tacitus, Thucydides and Polybius should find Josephus untrustworthy; the Orientalist will judge him with a different rod.

Our proof is not complete until we consider the implications which

follow the identification of Taricheae with Mejdel. We have already mentioned the fact above, that the fields just north of Mejdel are strewn with Graeco-Roman potsherds. There can be no doubt that there was once an important Roman town there. The surprise expressed by some that, if Taricheae had really lain there, no trace of the walls or buildings should be left, is unnecessary. The stones have long since been removed to be used in the construction of Tiberias, or thrown into the sea to make room for gardens and fields. The writer has noted several cases in Palestine where ruins, still existing in the time of the Survey, have now disappeared to give place to fields, leaving heaps of stones only, to attest the fact that there was once a town there. The absence of a true tell is explained by the ephemeral life of Taricheae, which all but disappears after the Jewish wars. It has also been abserved that, since the Talmud mentions the existence of Magdala or Migdal, there is no place for a Taricheae here. Moreover, Taricheae is not mentioned in the Gospels, which would be very strange if it lay so near Capernaum. However, the force of these objections is entirely broken by supposing that Taricheae was the Greek name of Magdala. The Talmud never mentions Aelia, or Eleutheropolis, Diospolis or Diocaesarea, but all these cities are mentioned under their Hebrew or Aramean names. The Gospels never mention Julias, but we find Bethsaida. On the other hand, Josephus always prefers the Greek names; Bethsaida he only mentions once, in recounting the foundation of Julias, a name which he always uses in other passages. *Josephus never once mentions Magdala,* a fact which would be incomprehensible if Magdala were not identical with Taricheae, since the Talmud emphasizes the importance of Magdala in the very age of which we are speaking. We are, therefore, justified in turning to consider the Talmudic evidence for Magdala.

The Talmud (especially *Tal. Yerūš.*) distinguishes between two towns by this name, Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā[32] and Magdal Nūnāyā.[33] The former

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[32] That is, "Tower of the Dyers." For the Talmudic material cf. Neubauer, *Géographie,* pp. 216-18.

[33] "Tower of the fishes." This would seem to be a good Aramaic name for Taricheae, but the combination is by no means clear. In this connection it may be observed that we have no reason to assume a fish-curing industry at Ḥirbet Kerak, as is confidently assumed by some. Thus a writer in PEFQ, 1910, p. 276, remarks: "The land a little to the west is known today as *Ard el-Mellāha,* "the salt land," and the Jews have a tradition that this name was due to the fact that their ancestors used to dry and salt fish at this spot. This name and tradition were given me by a very intelligent Jew who had lived four months at a Jewish farm now built on the hill *Sinn en-Nabra* and who had himself never heard of either Josephus or of Taricheae." The uncritical naiveté of this argument is a warning to the student of Palestinian topography that a new type of folklore, based on items of information dropped by the learned traveler, is springing

was the more important, possessing many shops where pigeons were sold, as well as many plants where fine wool was woven. The numbers given are obviously exaggerated, and may be disregarded, like most Talmudic numbers, which are worse than those furnished by the accommodating Josephus. Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā was very wealthy, and sent immense treasure to the temple at Jerusalem, but was, none the less, destroyed for its impiety. These data agree perfectly with the statements of Josephus regarding Taricheae, also a wealthy, but turbulent industrial town, which was also destroyed before the Talmudic period.

Magdal Nūnāyā, on the other hand, was a village, whose distance from Tiberias is once given as a mile, and elsewhere as a Sabbath day's journey, which amounts to the same thing. As is well known, the Sabbath day's journey might, by a kind of ritual fiction, be doubled. This is supposed to be restricted to the case of a circumcision feast, but in practice two towns which were not over two miles apart were permitted to avail themselves of the fiction. When the pilgrim Theodosius (sixth century) says that Magdala was two Roman miles north of Tiberias he is quite correct. Sepp and Van Kasteren have already suggested that Magdal Nūnāyā lay at the ruins near 'Ain el-Fulīyeh, below Ḥirbet Quneiṭrīyeh,[34] on which are the ruins of an Arab castle. The ruins in question are Arab, so should be left out of consideration. Just south of the springs, however, the cutting of a road has laid bare on both sides for several hundred feet a section of a Roman village, the existence of which could hardly be suspected from an examination of the surface. The house walls are built of stone and mud, and the rooms are very small, so we unquestionably have to do with a Roman village, as the potsherds prove conclusively.[35]

up in the country, among the Arabs as well as among the Jews. The source of the Jewish laborer's information was naturally scraps of instruction dropped by the heads of the colony, who are much interested in the antiquities of the neighborhood, and naturally know the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, as well as Josephus. The origin of the interesting bit of folklore respecting the *ard el-mellāhah* may be traced to Guérin, *Galilée*, loc. cit. Naturally, this appellation could theoretically mean ''land of the salt-mine,'' but since the rendering does not fit the situation at all, we had better render ''land of the *mellāh (mullāh)* plant.'' At all events it has no topographical importance.

[34] A Bedawi, encamped just above it, gave me the name Tell Eqlāṭīyah instead of Quneiṭrīyeh. Since this name is not, like the latter, appellative, but is evidently a proper name, it would be very interesting to find its source. There can be no doubt about the form, which I had him repeat several times in the course of our conversation. A sailor later gave me the same form.

[35] Anyone who may be in doubt, since the sherds are naturally coarser than those found in earlier Roman sites, as, e. g., at Mejdel, in the lower levels of the Roman Tiberias, need only examine the early Arab sherds which may be extracted in quantities from the Arab mound stretching for several hundred meters south of the hot springs of

From the edge of this village to the southern boundary of modern Tiberias, which roughly coincided with the northern wall of the ancient city, is half an hour's brisk walk, or two miles, as the writer satisfied himself by trial. Before dismissing the question of Magdal Nūnāyā, however, we must consider the statement made repeatedly by Furrer (*loc. cit.*) that the Talmud places Ḥammātā between Tiberias and Magdala. Furrer employed this datum as an argument for his localization of Ḥammātā and the Emmaus of Josephus (=Ammaus, or more correctly Ammathus; see above) between Tiberias and Mejdel. Now that the identity of Ḥammātā with the town at the hot springs of Tiberias has become absolutely certain, Furrer's material, if correct, would force us to place Magdala, that is, Magdal Nūnāyā, south of Tiberias. *A priori* there is perhaps no objection, since the very Talmudic passage in question mentions another Ḥammātā, at the hot springs of the Yarmuk, below Gadara. But Furrer has misunderstood the passage, which is therefore in perfect agreement with our other archaeological and topographical evidence. The Talmud of Jerusalem, Tractate 'Erūbīn, V. fol. 30, runs as follows:

אנשי עיר גדולה מהלכין את כל עיר קטנה ואין אנשי עיר קטנה
מהלכין את כל עיר גדולה: * * * עיר מהו שתעלה ממידת אלפים
א"ר חזקיה רבי סימון בשם רבי יוחנן אין עיר עולה ממידת אלפים
א"ר אלעזר עיר עולה ממידת אלפים בראשונה היו בני טיבריא מהלכין
את כל חמתה ובני חמתה אינן מגיעין אלא עד הכיפה ועכשיו בני
חמתה ובני טיבריא עיר אחת היא א"ר ירמיה מעשה ברועה אחד זקן
שבא ואמר לפני רבי זכור אני שהיו בני מגדל עולין לחמתה ומהלכין
את כל חמתה ומגיעין לחצר החיצונה הסמוכה לגשר והתיר רבי שהיו
בני מגדל עולין לחמתה ומהלכין את כל חמתה · ומגיעין לחצר
החיצונה עד הגשר.=(Mišnah) "The people of a large town may traverse the whole of a small town (whose boundary is not over two thousand cubits from its own limits) but the people of a small town may not traverse the whole of a large town: (Gemārā) What of a city which exceeds the measure of a thousand cubits (from one end to the other)? R. Hezekiah and R. Simon said, on the authority of R. Johanan, No city exceeds the measure of two thousand cubits (if it does, it is outside the scope of the rule). R. Eliezer said, A city may exceed the measure of two thousand cubits. Formerly the people of Tiberias traversed the whole of Ḥammātā, but the people of Ḥammātā could only go as far as the rock (in Tiberias).

Tiberias. The cutting of the road from Semaḥ to Tiberias has demonstrated that the early Arab Tiberias lay farther south than the modern Arab city, to the south of the baths.

Now the people of Ḥammātā and the people of Tiberias (go where they like in both towns)—it is one city (thus having a total extent of about a mile and a half along the shore). R. Jeremiah said: An (actual) case, of an old shepherd who went and said in the presence of Rabbi, I remember that the people of Magdala went up to Ḥammātā and traversed the whole of Ḥammātā, going even as far as the farthest limit near the bridge. Rabbi (then) permitted the people of Magdala to go up to Ḥammātā and traverse all Ḥammātā, going to the farthest limit, up to the bridge." The bridge is naturally the bridge over the little Wādi Quseib, which still must be bridged to allow for traffic. Since there is no wādi between Tiberias and the hot springs, Furrer would have a difficult task explaining the presence of the bridge here. The situation, then, is as follows: The people of Magdal Nūnāyā had a pious fiction, which allowed them to stretch the two thousand cubits, or a Roman mile, the standard Sabbath day's journey, to nearly two miles, in order to visit their neighbors in Tiberias on the Sabbath. Theoretically, however, they could only traverse part of Tiberias. An old custom permitted them to extend their promenade as far as the hot springs, where the élite of Tiberias doubtless strolled on the Sabbath. Despite its irregularity, Rabbi permitted it to continue, in accordance with his general policy not to interfere with established precedent. The people of Magdala thus enjoyed a scope of over three miles in this direction, which was naturally in radical disagreement with the text of the law, which is, of course, precisely the reason why it is introduced into the discussion.[36]

In this paper, we have endeavored to prove the following contentions. Taricheae is not Ḥirbet Kerak, but is the Greek name of Magdala, the Magdal Ṣabbā'āyā of the Talmud, which included Mejdel and the tract immediately north of it. The Magdala of the Talmud is not the Magdala of the Gospels, but the Magdala of the pilgrim, Theodosius, and the same as Magdal Nūnāyā, whose site is on the shore below Ḥirbet Quneiṭriyeh or Tell Eqlāṭīyah. Roman and Arabic Sennabris-Sinnabrah included Ḥirbet Kerak, but the Aramean population distinguished between Ṣinnabrī and Bēt Yeraḥ, as in the Talmud.

During the fifteen months since this article was prepared, some new material of importance has become accessible to me which partly confirms and

[36] We must remember that Judaism had not yet assumed its later crystallized structure in the third century A.D., to say nothing of the first and second, when the custom in question grew up. The recent exploration of synagogues from this period shows that the representation of living beings, and even of heathen conceptions, in the Jewish synagogue, was still common. The mosaics in the synagogue of Nearah ('Ain Dūq), recently excavated by Vincent, are an excellent illustration of the latitude still prevailing in regard to the application of the oral law.

partly modifies the results reached regarding Taricheae. Dalman has now adopted the identification of Taricheae with Magdala; see Procksch, PJB, 1918, pp. 13-15, and Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu,* 2nd ed., pp. 114-6, 159 f. Dalman thinks that Taricheae is Magdal Nūnāyā, while Ḥirbet Kerak is Philoteria (see now also Sukenik, JPOS, II, 101-9). The important discussion by Klein in his *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas,* pp. 76 ff., corrects and modifies some of the views expressed above regarding Magdal Nūnāyā and Magdal Ṣabbāʿāyā, for which we may refer to his treatment.